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## Southeast Asia Report

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22 November 1983

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No. 1373

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BURMA

REPORT ON GOVERNMENT ARMS PURCHASE FROM SWEDEN

BK311144 (Clandestine) Voice of the People of Burma in Burmese 0030 GMT  
31 Oct 83

[Unattributed article: "Despite the Shortage of Foreign Currency, the Military Government Buys and Equips Itself With New Weapons"]

[Text] It comes as no surprise that the military clique in Burma, which has no support from the people and relies on the power of weaponry, should mainly depend on its weapons just as horned animals rely on their horns. They rely on the weapons in the hands of the mercenary army to oppress the people, to safeguard the power of the military clique, and to prosecute the civil war to smash the revolutionary forces. It is for this reason that members of the military clique empty their pockets to come up with whatever foreign currency they can find and keep on buying new weapons, ammunition and military supplies.

The Burma Socialist Program [BSP] leaders never give the people the true picture when it comes to such expenditure. Thus, spending for the civil war in Burma has more than tripled from over 410 million kyat in 1958-59--the year when the military clique staged its first coup--to 1.66 billion kyat in the 1983-84 fiscal year.

Year after year, with some excuses or sometimes without any, the top brass of the mercenary army visit West Germany, Sweden, Israel, and other countries to buy arms and ammunition. Now, their mercenary army has been equipped with new launchers, but the arms purchase this time did not remain a secret as the military government would have liked. It became frontpage news in the international press.

In December last year, the Swedish arms manufacturer, Forenade Fabriksverken, received an order to export 1,200 84-mm Carl Gustaf launchers to Burma. The shipment, worth \$US1.75 million or about 13.65 million kyat, was made to Burma in January. The Swedish Government kept the arms deal secret for more than 6 months. The situation changed, however, when the Danish daily INFORMATION reported the matter on 5 July this year. The opposition parties in Sweden immediately picked up the news and it became a hotly debated issue in the country.

The Swedish constitution specifies which countries are not allowed to buy Swedish arms. The four criteria used to judge whether a country is qualified to buy Swedish arms include that the country must not be fighting a civil war and that it must not violate the United Nations human rights declaration or be suspected of intending to use the arms to violate that declaration.

Thus the Swedish Government was denounced from all sides because it had violated the constitution. The Swedish foreign trade minister then said that the government's impression of the situation in Burma when the arms contract was concluded was not contrary to any of these four criteria. He said the government could not be held responsible if the situation had subsequently changed. This started fresh rounds of debate with the government being criticized for not knowing that a civil war has been going on in Burma for the past 35 years, and that there have been reports of massacres of innocent villagers, and of villagers being press-ganged to work as porters. The situation in Sweden is now such that either the entire government or at least the minister responsible will have to resign.

An observer commented that most probably the Swedish Government thought that Burma was so remote and so isolated that the news would never reach Sweden. The Swedish ambassador to Burma, who appeared to be the man responsible, shrugged off his responsibility by saying that a civil war has been going on for the past 25 years, but no one made any enquiry about the deal to him. He also said that because of instructions from the Swedish Foreign Ministry he could not say anything about the arms deal.

The fact is that the ruling circle in Sweden and the BSP military clique made a secret arms deal in which weapons to be used to massacre people in the civil war were sold to Burma. But later they were loyally covering up the facts for each other. This is particularly true for the Ne Win-San Yu military government which, whenever possible, wants to hide the actual cost of maintaining the mercenary army and the expenses of war. However, thanks to the responsible and factual reporting of the international press, they have been caught red-handed.

The military clique members try to project themselves as a stable government in firm control of the country. Only in that way can the military government have its prestige boosted and can the government take loans from others. With these aims in mind, they exaggerate the gross domestic product while playing down the war expenses. Everybody knows that foreign currency and gold reserves in Burma have declined drastically and that the situation will not improve in the foreseeable future. Despite that, the military government does not think twice when it comes to equipping itself with new launchers.

But when the beggars start fighting among themselves--take the cases of Tin U and Bo Ni for example--they start emphasizing the importance of foreign currency so that the accused will suffer more. When it comes to preserving their power and continuing the civil war, they simply squander away the foreign currency reserves.

CSO: 4211/6

RADIO KAWTHULAY CARRIES REPORTS ON FIGHTING

28 October Report

BK281545 (Clandestine) Radio Kawthulay in English to Burma 0430 GMT 28 Oct 83

[Text] Battle area No 3, 3d Brigade, Nyaunglebin District area battle news: On 29 September 1983, a group of enemy mercenaries infiltrated into our area by arriving at (Takleda), (Porkahede). One of the mercenaries stepped on our landmines and was killed on the spot.

On 2 October, our troops encountered with enemy troops at (Indawme) place. In this action, one of our precious sons sacrificed his life for the cause of our people and country.

Battle area No 6, 7th Brigade, Pa-an District area battle news: On 16 September, a combined force comprised of the 2d column of the Karen National Liberation Army [KNLA] and General Headquarters raided enemy mercenary troops between (Tagwitkon) and (Htilame). A total of 14 mercenaries was killed, and 114 were wounded. Our troops seized six weapons from the enemy.

On 8 October, our troops attacked the enemy's 28th Battalion of Burma Regiment at (Wawpla). In this activity, one enemy mercenary was killed and two wounded.

On 11 October, a combined force comprised of 1st column from KNLA, Special Force 101 Battalion, and KNDO [Karen National Defense Organization] unit raided enemy's 2d and 5th Battalions of Light Infantry at (Yahta Chiboki). The fierce battle lasted 5 days. In this battle, enemy mercenary troops, being unable to stand the onslaught, abandoned their post in disorder. Our troops captured one pistol, one carbine, and some military equipment. In this battle, a total of 28 mercenaries was killed, and 70 were wounded. Among the dead were five officers. One of our patriotic sons laid down his life for the cause of our people and country, and three were injured. Two women villagers were killed. One of our compatriots was killed, and the other one was injured.

From 11 October to 12 October at 4 a.m., a combined force comprised of No 2 column and General Headquarters raided enemy troops stationed at Takaw village. In this action a total of 5 mercenaries was killed, and 10 were wounded. Our troops captured one G-2 and one M-79 grenade launcher from the enemy.



Battle area No 6, 7th Brigade, Papun District area battle news: On 26 September, our troops attacked enemy troops at Papun. One of our precious sons was injured.

On 11 October, enemy troops from 19th Battalion, Burma Regiment, captured three villagers from (Morkay) village.

Special force 101 Battalion battle news: From 1 to 4 October, a combined force comprised of 19th Battalion from 7th Brigade and Special Force 101 Battalion raided enemy 5th Battalion of Light Infantry at (Yatar), (Chipoki), and (Thegru) villages. In this action, five enemy mercenaries were killed. One of our patriotic sons sacrificed his life for the cause of our people and country, and seven were wounded. Four of our compatriots were also injured. Our troops captured 1 Browning pistol, 2 magazines, some G-3 magazines and cartridges, 1 (?signal) pistol, 1 hand grenade, 11 packs, and 3 mess kits.

On 8 October, [figure indistinct] column of 4th Battalion, Light Industry, shot villagers at (Htigyakhi) place. The enemy captured one carbine.

No 4 Company of General Headquarters battle news: On 13 October, No 4 Company of General Headquarters, KNLA, (?harassed) enemy troops at (Waklekho) place. In this attack two enemy mercenaries were killed. There were no casualties on our side.

#### 1 November Report

BK011130 (Clandestine) Radio Kawthulay in Burmese to Burma 0430 GMT 1 Nov 83

[Text] Battle area No 1, 1st Brigade, Thaton District area battle news: At 1315 on 18 October 1983, military column No 4 of the Kaen National Liberation Army [KNLA] and staff members of the 1st Brigade jointly laid in wait and attacked the enemy between (Nola) and (Khitale).

At 0600 on 19 October, our unit cleared enemy positions in an operation. During this operation, our unit seized 4 knapsacks, 2 mess kits, 4 G-3 magazines, 180 rounds of ammunition, 2 2-inch mortar shells, and 1 hand grenade from the enemy. Two enemy soldiers were killed and 15 wounded in this battle. Among the dead was a lance corporal, and of those wounded five suffered critical injuries.

Battle area No 3, 3d Brigade, Nyaunglebin District area battle news: On 8 October, a combined force of the 3d Regimental security unit of the 3d KNLA Brigade, a Karen National Defense Organization [KNDO] unit, and the 3d Company of the General Headquarters clashed with a unit of the 2d Company of the enemy's mercenary 39th Infantry Regiment in (Lakhee Tetla). During this battle, one of our men received injuries and we lost an AR and a radio telephone.

At 1230 on the same day, our unit attacked the enemy between (Lakhee) and (Malartaw). The battle lasted 4 hours and the enemy fled in disarray. At the end of the battle, our unit seized 25 knapsacks, 1 submachinegun barrel, 15 mess kits, 3 sets of equipment [preceding word rendered in English], 15 M-79 shells, 2 2-inch mortar shells, and 656 rounds of submachinegun ammunition. Seven enemy soldiers, including two officers, were killed and nine wounded. An enemy porter was also killed.

At 1720 on the same day, our unit clashed again with the same enemy troops near (Malartaw) village. The enemy fled in disarray as they no longer had the courage to face our unit. One of our members sacrificed his life for the country and people.

At about 1900 on 9 October, our unit entered (Mide) village and attacked the enemy. The ensuing battle lasted 30 minutes.

On 10 October, three members of the enemy mercenary side were wounded by a mine between (Lakhee) and (Malartaw). On the same day, a unit from our side clashed with an enemy mercenary unit in (Takhede). The battle lasted 15 minutes.

On 12 October, an enemy soldier was killed when he stepped on one of our mines in (Sawkahe).

Battle area No 6, 7th Brigade, Pa-an District area battle news: At 1030 on 21 October, the 7th KNLA Brigade went to Nawtara Mountain and attacked the enemy mercenary troops. Our unit captured 8 assorted weapons, 1,000 rounds of ammunition, and 20 knapsacks from the enemy. A further report on this will be given at a later date as the battle has not ended.

On 21 October, an enemy plane attacked (Shwe Aye We), killing a villager and wounding 12 others. (Shwe Aye We) village is located in Hlaingbwe township, battle area No 6 of the 7th Brigade, Pa-an District.

The enemy mercenary troops treat our nationals like their enemy. They did not differentiate between soldiers and civilians when they came and attacked in our area. They treated our civilians like their enemy and attacked and killed them as if they were animals. The current Burma Socialist Program followers torture, kill, and torment our Karen masses in a brutal and barbarous manner.

Battle area No 6, 7th Brigade, Papun District area battle news: On 13 October, our regional security unit attacked the enemy in (Lokawkyo), killing an enemy mercenary soldier. There were no casualties on our side.

On 14 October, our regional security unit again attacked the enemy in (Lokawkyo), wounding an enemy soldier. There were no casualties on our side.

On the same day, our unit attacked the enemy in (Nokawkhi), killing two enemy soldiers and wounding a porter from the enemy side.

On the same day, a unit from the enemy 19th Infantry Regiment came to (Meprawkhi) and arrested and killed three of our villagers. These depraved and evil Burmese troops have no consideration or kindness whatsoever for our rural masses.

Combat news from No 101 Special Battalion: On (?18) October, our unit attacked the enemy between (Sipala) and (Maw Kemu). During this battle, four members of the enemy's mercenary army were killed and an enemy porter was wounded.

At 1900 on 19 October, our men from No 3 (Nagoe) township attacked the enemy in (Lepu), killing an enemy soldier and wounding four others.

Combat news from the 2d Regiment of the General Headquarters: On 26 September, an enemy soldier was wounded by our mines in (Lawklaw).

On 28 September, two enemy mercenaries were wounded when they stepped on our mines in (Lepu).

Combat news from 4th Company of the General Headquarters: On 13 October, our unit attacked the enemy in (Waklelu), killing two enemy soldiers. There were no casualties on our side.

On 17 October, our unit attacked the enemy in (Hmat Ei) village.

#### Formation of Muslim Front

BK011201 (Clandestine) Radio Kawthulay in Burmese to Burma 0430 GMT 1 Nov 83

[Report on "Ceremony to Mark the Raising of the Flag and the Signboard of the Kawthulay Muslim Liberation Front and the Kawthulay Muslim Liberation Army Unit"]

[Text] On 14 October 1983, a ceremony was held at a site somewhere in the Kawthulay Karen revolutionary area to mark the raising of the flag and the signboard of the Kawthulay Muslim Liberation Front [KMLF] and the Kawthulay Muslim Liberation Army Unit [KMLAU]. The ceremony was attended by Muslims in the Kawthulay region as well as by leaders of the Karen National Union [KNU] central body, the commanders of the Karen National Liberation Army Central Headquarters, and the leading members of the National Democratic Front--the New Mon State Party, the Arakan Liberation Party, and the Pa-a National Organization.

Because of the rule by Burmese chauvinists since independence, national and democratic rights in the country have disappeared. As a result, dissatisfaction among the national groups, the masses, and classes have led to struggles and revolutions against Burmese chauvinism. Today, since people of Islamic faith cannot seek or obtain what they long for--religious freedom and equality--through a democratic process, they have taken a step forward to start an armed struggle. They are convinced that such a struggle will help them fulfil their desire.

Today, under the Burmese chauvinistic military government of Ne Win and the Burma Socialist Program Party [BSPP], all religious faiths with the exception of Buddhism have been undermined and are subject to various kinds of interference and obstruction.

People of Islamic faith believe they bear the brunt of persecution. False allegations and propaganda have been spread that Islamic religious authorities have instructed Muslims in Burma to marry Burmese women of Buddhist faith in any way they can and to spread their religion. Around the end of May 1983, mosques and Islamic religious schools in the wards of Moulmein were destroyed under a campaign by the ruling BSPP members and councillors. The rulers tried to escape from their political dilemma through racial riots.

Under instructions from the BSPP and council members, about 350 blackguards wielding sticks, knives, stones, and guns unhumanely destroyed 6 homes belonging to Muslims at the (Naung Lon Shan Su) circle--a Muslim residential area. The following day, they also destroyed a mosque. Pleas by Islamic religious authorities not to carry out such destructive acts against a religion went unheeded. Muslims were falsely accused and threatened, and mosques were entered with footwear by people who came to curse and threaten Muslims.

As a result, Muslim leaders--(Brother Zed), (Abdul Kadar), and (Maulvi Yasin)--and KNU central leaders--Chairman General Mya, Secretary General Bo Than Aung, and Joint Secretary General Bo San Lin--held a meeting on 31 August 1983. The meeting led to the formation of the KMLF and the KMLAU.

It was agreed at the meeting that the KMLF is an organization fighting against the enemy military government of Ne Win and the BSPP to win the rights of Muslims. It is not an organization fighting for separate territorial rights, nor is it an organization demanding national rights. Moreover, it was also agreed that the organization shall inform the KNU and accept the KNU leadership when making work-related contacts with other organizations in the country or internationally.

The KMLAU shall be a fighting unit strictly taking orders and under the command of the chief of staff of the Karen National Liberation Army.

On the basis of such agreements the KMLF and the KMLAU were founded. The ceremony to mark the raising of the flag and the signboard of the KMLF and the KMLAU was held, as mentioned above, at a site somewhere in the Kawthulay Karen revolutionary area on 14 August [as heard]. It was attended by the KNU leaders and the central presidential members of the National Democratic Front.

The KNU, which leads our Karen revolution, fully guarantees religious freedom and quality. It will support and help any race, religion, and organization which has been persecuted and oppressed racially, religiously, or democratically, and will join hands in fighting and defeating the Burmese chauvinistic military government of Ne Win and the BSPP.

CSO: 4211/6

BURMA

BRIEFS

SHAN REBEL GROUPS--Combat news of the combined force of the People's Army and the Shan State Nationalities Liberation Organization [SSNLO]: On 19 October, a small combined unit of the People's Army and the SSNLO ambushed a police motor vehicle near (Nawngyat) on Loikaw-Hsihseng Road. The ambush killed six policemen and a henchman of the military government. The unit also captured six assorted weapons, ammunition, and some military supplies. Combat news of the Shan State Army [SSA]: On 18 August, an attack by a small SSA unit at (Met Munkwang) Loi-ngun District, east of Hsipaw, resulted in four enemy soldiers being killed and another wounded. On 27 September, an attack by a small SSA unit in (Loi Haung) of (Leng Nam) District resulted in nine enemy soldiers being killed and several others wounded. On the same day, a similar attack by a small SSA unit killed four enemy soldiers and wounded six others. On 11 October, it was learned that an ambush staged between (Pekan) and (Na-law), east of Hsipaw, wounded two enemy soldiers. [Text] [BK050806 (Clandestine) Voice of the People of Burma in Burmese 0030-GMT 4 Nov 83]

CSO: 4211/6

'SOURCES' NOTE OPERATIONS AGAINST FRETILIN

BK050858 Hong Kong AFP in English 0843 GMT 5 Nov 83

[By Gilles Bertin]

[Text] Jakarta, 5 Nov (AFP)--The Indonesian Army has stepped up counter-insurgency operations against Fretilin guerrillas in East Timor during the past month, with daily air strikes against guerrilla positions in mountain areas of the former Portuguese colony, Catholic Timorese sources said here today.

Indonesian troops, now estimated at 10,000 men, launched a massive sweep in East Timor last August, after talks with Fretilin--The Revolutionary Front for the independence of East Timor--aborted, and following a six-month period during which no major incidents had been reported, observers here said. Indonesian planes have already attacked several targets, mainly in the regions of Bobonaro, Ainaro, Vemilale, Watulare and Los Palos, the sources said, adding that Indonesian troops in East Timor were recently reinforced. Some 20 helicopters were providing logistical support, the sources indicated, with Army Herculese C-130 transport planes regularly shuttling between Jakarta and Dili, the provincial capital of East Timor, a territory forcibly annexed by Indonesia in December 1975.

The sources added that the army apparently wanted to wind up its military operations in the area by the end of January.

Fretilin has been fighting a sporadic guerrilla war against Indonesian troops in East Timor since the Indonesian takeover, which has not been recognized by the United Nations. It is difficult to determine the casualty toll from the current anti-guerrilla campaign. An average of five or six wounded Indonesian soldiers are sent to Dili each week, according to the sources, who added that they had no information concerning the number of Fretilin guerrillas killed or wounded.

Other sources in Jakarta reacted cautiously to reports from the northern Australian city of Darwin that Fretilin forces had carried out a "successful counter-attack" in six East Timorese cities.

Some 30 soldiers of East Timorese origin in the Indonesian Army's 745th Battalion deserted last month to join Fretilin forces, the sources here said.

In August, dozens of "Hansips"--Timorese civil guards serving as auxiliary troops in the Indonesian Army--also reportedly joined the independence fighters.

Indonesian authorities have also become increasingly suspicious of many prominent Timorese figures and officials--some of whom have been detained for questioning and then released, while others are still under arrest, the sources said.

In addition, the authorities have beefed up their intelligence service, which investigates the activities and personal histories of a large number [of] Timorese, the sources said. Fearing arrest, peasants, students and teachers have reportedly fled to the mountains to join Fretilin, even though the majority of these people have never previously had any contact with the independence movement, the sources noted. Catholic priests suspected of being Fretilin sympathizers have also been threatened with death by Indonesian soldiers, they added.

Following an ambush last August in which 15 Indonesian soldiers were reported killed, the army killed some 200 Timorese civilians in retaliation, they said. The new papal administrator in Dili, Msgr Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo, protested against the arrests of Timorese people and the violence in the territory during a sermon early last month. Msgr Belo, a Salesian priest named last May by the Vatican, with which the Catholic Church in East Timor is still linked, is generally considered a moderate. Catholics account for more than 60 percent of the East Timorese population, which is estimated at about 550,000 people.

The Catholic sources said the current military operations were making food shipments in East Timore increasingly difficult, adding that they feared some isolated villages could soon suffer from a food shortage.

East Timor's Governor Mario Carrascalao said recently that, for the moment, the only solution to the Fretilin problem was military. Fretilin forces are generally estimated to number several hundred men under arms, with the total put at about 3,000 people, including families.

CSO: 4200/157

NATIONAL LEADERS COMMENT ON SECULAR STATE ISSUE

Support for Request

Jakarta MERDEKA in Indonesian 12 Sep 83 pp 1, 11

[Text] The armed forces faction in Parliament approves of the request made by Speaker Armirmachmud that the Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI) faction retract its statement supporting remarks made by PDI General Chairman Soenawar Soekowati on the subject of a secular state.

H. Sumrahadi Partohadiputro, the spokesman of the armed forces faction, told a press conference at Parliament on Saturday that "as an oriental who supports the Pancasila philosophy and as an elder, it was proper for the speaker of Parliament to appeal to his children. But as to whether or not the appeal is accepted, that is up to the children."

Sumrahadi, who was accompanied by Soehirno, cautioned that in discussing the national philosophy one must be careful not to create a reaction that would lead to "different people speaking in different ways."

Soehirno took this opportunity to say that he found the use of the English words "secular state" to be very disturbing. The use of the term at least had encouraged a large part of the public to discuss the matter, and this need not have happened if the words had not been introduced. He also said that he felt Amirmachmud's appeal for a retraction was a call to immediately restore things to their proper proportions.

"So do not think he was simply acting in his capacity as speaker, for instead he was acting as a fighter who loves unity and cohesiveness," Soehirno said.

Public Misled

In a written statement read by Soehirno, the armed forces faction said that the issue of a secular state was publicly raised as a response to the speech delivered by the chief of state before Parliament on 16 August 1983. The growth of this issue has greatly confused and misled the public to the detriment of national unity and cohesiveness, and this can affect national stability and lead to delays in national development.



The statement said that we are once again confronted with uncalled for opinions that have been presented as perceptions of, criteria for, and observations on our state and national life. The Indonesian nation already has a state and national philosophy and foundation of proven validity and sacred meaning, the Pancasila, which is incorporated in the preamble of the 1945 Constitution.

According to the statement of the armed forces faction, the Indonesian nation, in establishing the Republic of Indonesia, specifically utilized the Pancasila as the basic philosophy for regulating the way of life of the state and nation. Thus, our state is a Pancasila state, a state in which we can adhere to religious precepts and at the same time be loyal supporters of the Pancasila.

The armed forces faction feels that in focusing our attention on, reacting to, and discussing problems in national and public life we should not use criteria and standards that are not found in the Pancasila, since we, as a nation, in all of our attitudes and conduct, constantly rely on the Pancasila as a philosophy of life.

"The Pancasila is not the result of a marriage or merger of other ideologies. The Pancasila was brought forth from the earth of Indonesia," the statement says.

The statement also warns against using foreign terms, terms that have specific connotations in the countries where they originated. The use of these terms to describe characteristics in our own national life is dangerous as it can lead to confusion and misunderstanding and result in divisions in national unity.

In another part of the statement the armed forces faction warns that the public should remain calm and should not permit itself to be manipulated by ideas that deviate from those expressed in the Pancasila. Noting that the chief of state has said that "it would be irresponsible of us to bequeath unfavorable conditions to the younger generation," the faction urges that conditions that can be passed on to future generations be created.

#### Statement of PPP Faction

Jakarta MERDEKA in Indonesian 14 Sep 83 pp 1, 11

[Text] Amirmachmud, the speaker of Parliament, has stated that as fighters who want to safeguard the essential qualities of the struggle of the New Order, qualities that are reflected in the acts issued by the People's Consultative Congress, then we must also be able to create a climate that will provide firmer and stronger conditions for the implementation of national development as we enter PELITA IV.

Amirmachmud made the statement when receiving Drs Darussamin, the deputy chairman of the United Development Party (PPP) faction in Parliament, and Ali Tamin, SH, the deputy secretary of the PPP faction, in his office on Tuesday.

The speaker of Parliament also said that issues or matters that can create contradictions must be eliminated. He said that our state is based on the Pancasila and is not a secular state, and added, "If secular ideas arise they will lead to contradictions, and this will create a dangerous situation."

The officers of the PPP faction gave the speaker a letter in which the faction affirms its view that Indonesia is not a secular state. The letter, number 193/F. Perst/IX/1983, was signed by Drs Subardji and Jahja Ubeid, SH, respectively the chairman and secretary of the PPP faction, and was dated 10 September 1983.

#### PPP Faction's Statement

In connection with statements that have been made and opinions that have been expressed in some circles to the effect that the Republic of Indonesia is a secular state, the view of the PPP faction is that the Republic of Indonesia is a Pancasila state and not a secular state, the statement says.

The statement says that the view and attitude of the PPP faction is based on the fact that the climate prevailing at the birth of the Republic of Indonesia, at the time the 1945 Constitution was drawn up, was characterized and inspired by intense religious and spiritual feelings. This spirit is clearly reflected and expressed in both the preamble and body of the 1945 Constitution, and in the national Pancasila philosophy.

The preamble of the constitution clearly and explicitly states that the freedom we have obtained is a blessing bestowed by Almighty God, and the spirit of the remarks in the preamble also is contained in article 29 of the constitution itself.

The statement says that intense religious and spiritual feelings are also reflected in a number of speeches made by the president of the Republic of Indonesia, including his National Day speech of 1974. In this speech the president said that "the state is obligated to guarantee to each person the freedom to follow the religion of his choice and to worship according to the precepts of his religion and faith."

#### PDI Explains Its Position

Jakarta SINAR HARAPAN in Indonesian 15 Sep 83 pp 1, 12

[Text] Speaker of Parliament H. Amirmachmud says that he can understand and even support the PDI's opinion of and attitude toward statements made some time ago by PDI General Chairman Soenawar Soekawati on the subject of a secular state.

The change in Amirmachmud's attitude occurred after Soenawar Soekawati and one other member of the PDI central executive council met with the speaker on Monday, the 12th of September.

A document entitled "Explanation for the Internal Use of the Party" was distributed by the PDI central executive council to party members on Wednesday. This document states that on 12 September Prof Soenawar Soekawati, the general chairman of the PDI central executive council, and PDI Chairman Achmad Sukarmadidjaja gave the speaker of Parliament an explanation of the PDI's attitudes and opinions and also explained why the PDI general chairman had been forced to use foreign terms.

According to the document, the attitudes and opinions of the PDI central executive council, as expressed by the general chairman, are based on the party's fusion declaration, its struggle charter and its statutes and bylaws. And it is stated therein "that in our state, which is based on our beloved Pancasila--as set forth in the preamble to the 1945 Constitution--and 1945 Constitution, there is a separation between political authority and national governmental authority on the one hand and religious authority on the other hand."

The document, which was signed by PDI General Chairman Soenawar Soekawati and PDI Secretary General Sabam Sirait, says that therefore there is only one authority in this state and that is the authority of the national government. The national government regulates all matters affecting the public and the state while observing the stipulation contained in article 29 of the 1945 Constitution, namely, that the state is founded on belief in God.

"This position was reaffirmed by the PDI central executive council in its statement of 24 August 1983," the document says.

#### Substance

According to the document, the important thing for the PDI is the substance and essence of the principle of a separation of powers. In Indonesia, which is based on the Pancasila, the national government respects, supports, provides services for, and assists the development of the various religions so that they can continue to perform their function of leading their followers in devotion to Almighty God, and "this is consistent with article 29 of the 1945 Constitution."

The document also says that the standards followed in carrying out the activities of the national government must be derived from the Pancasila. "Also, the Pancasila must be the source of the laws of the state and the laws followed in promoting the national economy, for the Pancasila is the source of all law." And, "all of these things are inspired by religious values and belief in Almighty God."

The document says that these are the political attitudes and opinions of the PDI, nothing less and nothing more. "And if there are those who do not share the political attitudes and opinions of the PDI, then this is only right and proper in a state that adheres to the system of Pancasila democracy."

According to the document, the PDI has no desire to force its opinions on anyone and has never done so. The only exceptions are PDI members who sit in party executive councils or in national institutions, and here the objective is to maintain party discipline.

The document also says that the obedience and loyalty of PDI members to the political attitudes and opinions of the party stem from their understanding and perception of and their commitment to these attitudes and opinions.

#### Chronology

PDI General Chairman Soenawar Soekawati first commented on the subject of a secular state on 18 August in a briefing given to party members who sit in Parliament. Hardjantho, a chairman of the PDI and also a deputy speaker of Parliament, said at the time that "the PDI general chairman has said the wrong thing."

Hardjantho's comment was officially contradicted by the PDI faction in Parliament. A few days later Speaker Amirmachmud asked the PDI faction to retract its statement supporting the comments made by the PDI general chairman. Amirmachmud's request was supported by Hardjantho, who said "it is the proper thing for the PDI faction to do in the interest of the unity of this legislative body."

The request also was supported by the armed forces faction in Parliament. The faction said that "the statements of the PDI general chairman are misleading, create confusion, and can endanger unity, cohesiveness and stability."

The armed forces faction's statement of support was read out at a press conference. And this Tuesday a statement by the PPP faction was officially submitted to the speaker of Parliament. This statement said that "the Republic of Indonesia is not a secular state but is characterized by a religious spirit and a spirit of brotherhood."

#### Speaker's Opinion Is Unchanged

Jakarta SINAR HARAPAN in Indonesian 19 Sep 83 pp 1, 11

[Text] H. Amirmachmud, the speaker of Parliament, read a statement to reporters on Monday morning to explain his views on the subject of a secular state. Reporters were not given an opportunity to ask questions at the end of the meeting, the first time that this has happened at Parliament.

Amirmachmud, who was accompanied by Wang Suwandi, the secretary general of Parliament, said that his opinion had not changed and that he agreed with the view that was expressed in the statement issued by the armed forces faction and that was reaffirmed in the statement issued by the PPP faction, namely, that the Republic of Indonesia is not a secular state.

"My opinion," he said, "has not changed and I continue to agree with the view expressed in the statement issued by the armed forces faction because I know and understand that only with the Pancasila as the ideology, philosophy and foundation of the state, and only through a conceptual and operational culturalization and structuralization of the Pancasila that is consistent with the essential nature of the New Order and with the legislative acts approved by the People's Consultative Congress in 1973, 1978 and 1983, particularly those legislative acts that deal with Pancasila politics, will the Indonesian nation become a great, just, prosperous and materially and spiritually vigorous nation within the framework provided by the unitary state of the Republic of Indonesia, a state that is whole and undivided, that possesses strong and everlasting national stability, and that receives the blessings of Almighty God."

#### Consistent Opinion

Before reading the statement, Amirmachmud said that he felt that news coverage of his statements and meeting with the PDI faction might create the impression that he had changed his opinion after receiving the explanation of the PDI leaders. He said that his consistent opinion is that the Indonesian state is a nonsecular Pancasila state. "After receiving the explanation of the PDI leaders I told them that I did not agree with their use of the English words "secular state," or "negara sekuler" in Indonesian, to identify the state of the Republic of Indonesia," he said.

He said that during the meeting with the PDI leaders he had stated that the state of Indonesia is a Pancasila state, that the only authority in the state of Indonesia is the authority of the national government, and that this authority is exercised on the basis of the Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution.

"An authority other than this does not exist in the state of Indonesia," he said. He added that the Indonesian state is not a secular state because the national government, in accordance with the principle of belief in God, a principle incorporated in the Pancasila and in article 29 of the 1945 Constitution, is obligated to promote and encourage religious life.

Amirmachmud said that throughout the history of Indonesia there has never been an instance of religious authority controlling the authority of the state, nor has there been an instance of the authority of the state controlling religious authority. Also, there has never been a distinct separation between the two powers. Instead, he said, what we do find is a harmonious fusion that is usually referred to as syncretism, an integration of traditional values and religious values.

#### Not Imperative

He said that it is not imperative that all matters having to do with religion be handled by the ulamas, or that all worldly matters be handled by the state. Rather, these matters can be handled jointly by the state and religious groups, as long as nothing vital is involved.

Tolerance, or the willingness to avoid becoming involved in matters that are vital to another party, is the real reason for the peaceful coexistence of religions in Indonesia. It is the similarities that are promoted and cultivated, and not the differences.

Amirmachmud said that all religions and creeds in Indonesia recognize the existence of Almighty God. Consequently, the Pancasila, with its first principle of belief in God, provides a means whereby all religions can flourish and can even be encouraged and promoted by the state. "The concept of the Pancasila was born from this harmony," he said. He noted that the Department of Religious Affairs does not interfere in matters involving religious doctrine. Rather, its activities are restricted to such things as guaranteeing each person the freedom of religion and the freedom to worship according to his belief, and to providing needed facilities when this is within the state's capabilities and when it is authorized in the Main Lines of National Policy and other legislation and regulations.

Amirmachmud again declared that Indonesia is not a secular state. If it was a secular state, he said, a religious Pancasilaist society would never have materialized and instead we would have a secularist society.

The speaker also said that he understood the view of the PDI leadership that the only authority in the Indonesian state is the authority that is based on the Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution, and that there is no other authority than this.

5458

CSO: 4213/19

PRESIDENT ADDRESSES PARTICIPANTS IN STANFORD MEETING

Jakarta SINAR HARAPAN in Indonesian 14 Sep 83 pp 1, 12

[Text] President Suharto has said that the Indonesian government, in order to encourage economic activity and capital investment, will continue to promote a good climate for the business community, will improve and perfect procedures that can facilitate economic activity, and will try to reduce and eliminate factors that can increase the burden of the business sector.

The chief of state was addressing participants in the SRI (Stanford Research Institute) International Fourth Jakarta Meeting at the State Palace on Wednesday morning. The Fourth Jakarta Meeting will be in session until 16 September 1983 and is being attended by 110 persons from various countries.

Earlier the president had said that Indonesia was determined to lay its runway during Repelita IV (Fourth 5-Year Plan), to strengthen the runway in Repelita V, and "in Repelita VI we will be able to take off and build our society relying on our own capabilities and self-sufficiency."

The president said that in its efforts to achieve this goal Indonesia must continuously strive to promote its economic growth. The private sector has an important role in this effort, he said. "We are happy that the private sector is making rapid progress and allowing our private businessmen to reach positions where they can become solid partners in foreign capital investments, and we are leaving open the opportunity for foreign capital investment," he said.

The chief of state also noted that Indonesia was engaging in regional cooperation projects with its fellow members in ASEAN. "In this connection, we in the ASEAN region hope that developed countries will reciprocate our efforts to expand international trade and capital investment by opening their markets to the products of our industries," he said.

In another part of his speech the president said that while we have achieved gratifying economic development in implementing our national development program, we are also aware that there are deficiencies that must be overcome. "In this connection, we are always open to constructive ideas and suggestions that may be produced by this Jakarta meeting," he said.

## Discussion of Opportunities

Julius Tahiya, the chairman of the Fourth Jakarta Meeting, said in his report that at this meeting there will be an open discussion of the business climate in Indonesia and of opportunities for the business community in Indonesia and in other ASEAN countries. The meeting also will review problems that have occurred and prospects for the future.

He noted that persons attending the SRI International Third Jakarta Meeting were also received at the State Palace by President Suharto 5 years ago.

He said that at certain times the SRI International convenes meetings to review developments in the Southeast Asian business sector in particular, and on the international business scene in general. "A regular exchange of ideas between businessmen and between the business community and government officials will have beneficial results," he said.

The SRI International was established by Stanford University and a group of U.S. businessmen in the mid-1940s. The international organization is situated in Menlo Park, California. While its activities are of worldwide scope, it concentrates on the Pacific basin and the ASEAN region.

The objective of the SRI International is to support world economic development through research and advisory services in the fields of science, technology, management and economics, and its specific target is the improvement of economic and social conditions on an international scale.

Participants in the SRI International Fourth Jakarta Meeting come from the ASEAN countries, Korea, Japan, Hongkong, Taiwan, India, Pakistan, Lebanon, United Arab Emirates, Australia, New Zealand, Great Britain, France, Austria, Denmark, Finland, Norway, Sweden, Canada and the United States.

5458

CSO: 4213/14



## SOCIAL SCIENTISTS PRACTICE SELF-IMPOSED CENSORSHIP

Jakarta SINAR HARAPAN in Indonesian 14 Sep 83 pp 1, 12

[Text] Dr Lukman Sutrisno, a staff member of the Center for Regional and Rural Studies and Research at Gajah Mada University, says that the activities of social scientists are beginning to be marked by a new characteristic. He describes this characteristic as self-imposed censorship, or a reluctance to honestly present the facts about social phenomena, especially if they concern the government's policies on development.

Dr Lukman Sutrisno presented his views in a panel discussion on the subject of authorship at the university level. The discussion was held at the Gajah Mada University Student Center in Yogyakarta on Monday evening. Dr Lukman Sutrisno also said that self-imposed censorship was being practiced by social scientists because of the unpleasant experiences of individuals who had written in a critical vein about government policies.

Dr Lukman Sutrisno, who is a sociologist, said that in past times the general perception was that the promotion of an instructor was affected by a number of factors, including his loyalty. If an instructor frequently wrote newspaper articles critical of government policy, the then leaders of the Department of Education and Culture might consider him to be disloyal and this could delay his promotion.

With the existence of this self-imposed censorship, social scientists are reluctant to write, and if they are forced to write then the articles deal with some subject of an abstract nature and are published in journals that are not available to the lay public. At the same time, the public is beginning to hunger for alternative information.

The public expects the universities to fulfil its need for alternative information, however the over zealous bureaucracy of our universities is curbing instructors from presenting alternative information in articles designed for the lay reader.

### Endangers Careers

Dr Lukman Sutrisno said that recently the members of the academic staffs of Indonesian universities have begun to feel that they should avoid writing

for newspapers as it could endanger their careers as instructors. This situation could result in a recurrence of the "ivory tower" disease in the academic community in our country, he said.

He said that it would be very unfortunate if people who do not have the ability to write for either newspapers or scientific journals use this situation as their excuse for not writing.

According to Lukman Sutrisno, the scientists in developing countries and advanced countries have quite different functions. Scientists in developing countries have the duty of educating the public. They must provide alternative information, information that will allow the people to find alternative methods of improving their standard of living. This cannot be done if university scientists defend the tradition that has been bequeathed to them by the advanced countries, that is, the tradition of writing only for scientific journals. This is an elitist tradition, and if it is closely followed by the scientists in our country then they will be committing themselves to a process that will keep our society in a state of ignorance.

Lukman Sutrisno said that writing for newspapers does not necessarily lower the prestige of a scientist. He noted that in Great Britain, a developed country, writing for newspapers such as THE SUNDAY TIMES and THE LITERARY REVIEW is considered a distinct honor.

Lukman Sutrisno feels that if we want to promote authorship at the university level, then the government should not press forward with the bureaucratizing of the university sector. Also, the writing achievements of an instructor should be made a basic criteria in evaluating and managing his career.

He also said that he hoped the government would not feel hesitant about transferring to administrative duties those instructors who do not have the ability to do scientific work.

5458

CSO: 4213/14

PRESIDENT: SINGLE PRINCIPLE WILL NOT ELIMINATE DIVERSITY

Jakarta KOMPAS in Indonesian 21 Sep 83 p 12

[Text] Jakarta, KOMPAS--President Soeharto has denied that the adoption of the Pancasila [Five Principles of the Nation] as the single founding principle for organizations and society will reduce or eliminate existing diversity in the country. He said: "There is absolutely no intention of eliminating diversity, because this is specifically needed in developing our life as a nation and state."

The statement by the chief of state was made when he received the leaders of the KNPI (Indonesian National Youth Committee) at the Bina Graha offices on Tuesday [20 September]. The KNPI delegation was led by Aulia Rachman, attorney at law and general chairperson, and Dr Theo Sambuaga, the secretary general.

The chief of state declared that having the Pancasila as the single founding principle did not mean that the separate identity of existing groups in our society would be lost. This identity can be expressed in carrying out their various programs, but the basic or founding principle must be the same.

President Soeharto was quoted by Aulia Rachman as stating, with regard to the need for having the Pancasila as the single founding principle: "This is because we don't want to repeat the historical experience of the Indonesian nation in the past. That is, a variety of ideological conflicts emerged which could have threatened national unity and union."

Secretary General Dr Theo Sambuaga added: "We can only build Indonesia on a common basis. And that can only be done if we establish the Pancasila as the single founding principle in our organizational life."

Therefore, according to Dr Sambuaga, since the establishment of the New Order [in 1967] the Indonesian people have been determined to uphold the Pancasila as the single, national, ideological founding principle.

Question of Life or Death

General Chairperson Aulia Rachman said that for the KNPI itself the single principle of the Pancasila is a life or death question for the Indonesian people and

state. For that reason the KNPI will welcome it and include it as a concept in the KNPI programs. In addition to being cadres for the development program the KNPI will also be cadres for the Pancasila.

She said that in an objective way the Pancasila as a founding principle will be applied down to the lowest level of the KNPI structure. In the future the KNPI will call on all young people in our country to accept the Pancasila as the single founding principle.

She admitted that there are youth organizations which have not yet accepted the Pancasila as the single founding principle. However, Aulia Rachman also recalled that national and state problems could not be separated from how we think of and live the philosophy and founding principle of our national state. For that reason the KNPI will open an effective dialogue with other Indonesian youth so that they also may come to accept the Pancasila as the single founding principle.

Aulia Rachman said: "We are a sub-system of one national system, that is, the Pancasila. Therefore it should obviously be the only founding principle in effect for all existing sub-systems."

#### Leading the Way

The KNPI leaders reported to the president on the results of the plenary KNPI meeting in Cisarua recently and on several of the KNPI programs going on at this time.

The chief of state also hoped that the KNPI could become a pioneer in the field of agriculture, for example in the field of land inheritances. At present, according to the president, farmers generally own only one-quarter of a hectare. If this amount of land must be divided among all of their children, there will be very little land obtained by each person.

Therefore, the KNPI should lead the way in advocating that land left as an inheritance should be given to the eldest child only. Meanwhile, the other children should look for other work or, if necessary, should choose to enter the transmigration program.

The KNPI should also lead the way in wiping out the narcotics traffic, providing information on the dangers involved to RW [Residents' Associations] and RT [Farmers' Associations].

5170

CSO: 4213/23

## DEVELOPMENTS REGARDING INDONESIANIZATION PROGRAM

### Manpower Department Official on Vital Projects

Jakarta MERDEKA in Indonesian 21 Sep 83 pp 1, 11

[Text] Jakarta, Tuesday [20 September]--Dr Danang D. Yudonagoro, director general of job creation and placement in the Department of Manpower, states that projects which have strategic significance and have a broad effect on the life of the community as a whole should be handled by Indonesian workers (TKI).

He made this statement before those attending the third course on Fire and Safety Education and Training under the 1983 IWPL [expansion unknown] oil and natural gas program at Sungai Gerong, Palembang Province, yesterday [19 September]. Later on he said that the total number of foreign workers (TKA) employed on vital projects in Indonesia must be kept as small as possible. He declared: "We must not depend on foreign workers."

He stated that, based on existing data, at present there are 18,000 foreign workers employed in Indonesia with permits from the Department of Manpower and also from the Capital Investment Coordinating Body (BKPM).

He then said: "Despite the size of this figure, for some time the total number of foreign workers has not gone down but has increased a little. So we are always asked how the Indonesianization of labor program is going."

### Creating Obstacles

He said that in fact the Indonesianization of labor program is continuing. Problems come up with new government projects, such as the construction of the LNG [Liquified Natural Gas] plants at Arun and Badak in East Kalimantan, the construction of the oil refineries at Cilacap and Dumai, and development projects in other sectors of the economy. Of course, in this regard there are skills which Indonesian workers have not yet mastered, and it is in this connection that more foreign workers are brought into Indonesia.

According to the director general, if the Indonesianization of labor program had not been undertaken, the total number of foreign workers employed in Indonesia would surely be twice as many as at present--30-40,000 workers.

The director general said that although this is the case, he felt that it is rather ironic that at the present time our working force totals about 63 million people, and every year a further 2 million workers are added to it. How difficult it is to provide an additional 2 million job openings per year. This situation really calls for an extraordinary development effort and an effort to create jobs. Therefore, although 18,000 foreign workers are not much, compared to 63 million people in the working force, it is still felt that these foreign workers are keeping Indonesian workers from holding those jobs.

The education and training course was attended by 20 Indonesian workers employed by various contractors who have production sharing contracts in the petroleum and natural gas sector.

#### Indonesianization of Foreign Firms Overdue

Jakarta SINAR HARAPAN in Indonesian 26 Sep 83 pp 1, 12

[Text] Semarang, 25 September--Minister of Manpower Sudomo said that it is time for changes in the employment of foreign workers in investment projects, both those financed by foreign capital [PMA] and by domestic capital [PMDN]. This situation brings to mind the fact that the law on foreign capital investment, that is, Law No 1 of 1967, has been in effect for 15 years.

The minister said that for a number of kinds of investment there is enough trained Indonesian workers available who are not only capable of doing the work but have the right to hold those jobs.

In his speech to a working session of the Central Java Regional Capital Investment Coordinating Body [BKPM] in Semarang on Saturday [24 September], Sudomo declared that for the last 15 years it has been felt that the process of Indonesianization has been rather slow. This was caused in particular by the unwillingness of foreign capital investors to train Indonesian workers in the framework of the technology transfer program.

In his view not all foreign investors have such an attitude. Indeed, there are foreign capital investors who clearly obey the regulation that foreign workers employed in Indonesia may not be promoted from one position to a higher-ranking position if, during the time the employer is in Indonesia, he cannot prove that he has trained Indonesian workers to replace foreign workers in a given position or job.

It is this obligation to train and prepare replacements in the technology transfer program which, according to Minister Sudomo, must be strengthened in connection with the entry into Indonesia of new investors, where they are foreign investors or domestic investors engaged in a production sharing program with foreign investors.

In Sudomo's view, investment programs should be reviewed which do not provide the prospect of broadening employment opportunities for Indonesian workers in the foreign capital investment program under the Fourth 5-Year Plan.

As minister of manpower he will review and take action concerning a number of specialized positions held by foreign workers employed in Indonesia, both those who are already working in Indonesia and those who propose to enter Indonesia to work under the foreign capital investment program and the domestic capital production sharing program.

#### Labor Training

Recalling the fact that there are too many problems for young workers who are graduates of senior technical high schools [SLTA] who enter the labor market but are unable to find an opening for their specialty or their skill, the minister said it is now time and only proper for steps to be taken regarding the requirement for capital investors to set aside a portion of their profits to finance the education and training of their workers.

The minister said: "Training the workers with funds derived from company profits is very important and should be given priority by the business firms which have such programs, particularly as it is closely related to the guarantee of continuous work for the company employees so that they will have lifelong employment."

With the opportunity provided by the company to attend education and training courses, the prospects for the workers employed by a company will be clear and will also guarantee their situation and working conditions. This will give them sufficient motivation to work productively. Training funds derived from company profits set aside for this purpose can also be collected or pooled as an investment of capital in the formation of a Labor Training Institute [Balai Latihan Kerja] in a given industry. In this way training activity does not always have to take place within the company but can be accomplished outside the company.

Training provided by the company should be generally limited to employees of the firm or other, approved workers. However, it should also be available in certain places to trainees from outside the company. In this way the social responsibility of the businessman toward human resources development can be shown more clearly.

#### Labor Force Explosion

Recalling the size of the explosion of young workers entering the labor force in the course of the Fourth 5-Year Plan, the minister called on the BKPM [Capital Investment Coordinating Body] and the Central Java regional office of the BKPM not to look at investment feasibility studies exclusively from the economic point of view but also in terms of the impact on broadening employment opportunities. Indeed, if possible, it should be a requirement for potential investors to develop human resources at the same time or make an investment in human resources in their respective companies. In his view this matter has already been sketched out in the law on foreign capital investment (Law No 1 of 1967) under the technology transfer program and the Indonesianization of employment in certain types of foreign capital investment.

Sudomo said: "Unless there are sufficient reserves of workers available in Indonesia, new investment during the Fourth 5-Year Plan in the form of foreign or domestic capital investment should be reviewed."

BAKIN CHIEF VIEWS 'SINGLE PRINCIPLE' ISSUE

Jakarta MERDEKA in Indonesian 24 Sep 83 pp 1, 11

[Article: "Development of 'Single Principle' in Mass Organizations Will Result in Three Political Tendencies"]

[Text] Jakarta, Friday [23 September]--Although the matter of using the Pancasila [Five Principles of the Nation] as the 'single principle' for political parties and functional groups [Golkar] is no longer formally at issue, it is clear that in the development of community social organizations three political tendencies have emerged.

This was stated by Gen Yoga Sugama, chief of the Intelligence Coordinating Agency (BAKIN), in testimony before Committee I of Parliament, which was presided over by Ismail Hasan Metarium, its chairman, at the Parliament building in the Senayan district of Jakarta Thursday evening [22 September].

According to the chief of BAKIN, these political attitudes cover: (1) a group which rejects the Pancasila as the 'single principle'; (2) a group which accepts the Pancasila, but only for political parties and functional groups, and rejects it for the development of mass organizations; and (3) a group which fully accepts the application of the Pancasila as the single basic principle for all organizations.

According to General Yoga, the group which rejects the Pancasila as the basic cornerstone of society considers that the Pancasila does not necessarily replace the basic concept of political ideals for political groups and also does not necessarily have to be the only basic principle.

They intend to accommodate themselves to the aspirations of a certain group as associates in taking joint action.

Meanwhile, the group which accepts the Pancasila as the 'single principle' for political parties and functional groups considers that MPR [People's Consultative Assembly] Decision No II/1983 is only in effect for political parties and functional groups.



In this connection the chief of BAKIN said that the group of mass organizations with a religious orientation considers that the application of the 'single principle' as a political foundation does not include the religion-based mass organizations. This is because the religion-based mass organizations are not involved in politics as a practical matter. Thus, the religious organizations should not drop their basic religious foundations.

University student organizations, according to the chief of BAKIN, have a tendency to reject the Pancasila as a basis for their associations. This is clearly indicated in the case of the All-Indonesian Consultative Assembly of Chairmen of Indonesian Catholic University Student Associations (PMKRI), which was held in Palembang in October 1982. Among other things this assembly decided to seek a form of organization which would make it possible for a Catholic basis to be maintained, although not explicitly to be found in the name of such an organization.

Another example may be found in the Congress of Islamic University Student Associations, which was held in Medan not long ago. It may also be found in the basic thought of the National Working Assembly of Indonesian Christian University Student Movements (GMKI) [Protestant Christian university student organization], held from 26 May to 1 June 1983. At this meeting it was stated that efforts to give the Pancasila permanent status as the ideology of the state would have the inevitable effect of unnecessarily damaging national unity.

#### Political Stability Remains Steady

According to the chief of BAKIN, if this situation is related to Section 29, Paragraph 2 of the Draft Basic Law on Community Organizations, in which religious organizations are allowed to adopt their respective religious characteristics as their basic principles, it is not impossible that certain organizations of university students, youth, and community representatives will move toward joining religious organizations, thus making it possible to channel their aspirations through activities in these religious organizations.

Gen Yoga Sugama said that although the issues involving the adoption of the Pancasila as the "single principle" for social and political forces is a hotly-debated question, domestic political stability up to now is still quite steady.

According to the chief of BAKIN, there is a tendency for these issues to broaden in scope, in this connection in relation to the possibility of careful development of the PMP [Pancasila Moral Education] book.

He considered that the issue of the "single principle" will continue to be debated and will always be used by the "opposition" group.

In addition, he said there is also another issue, which involves calling the Republic of Indonesia a secular state.

Regarding such secular status, General Yoga said that this is really a question which stimulates argument, although it won't last long. Further development of this issue needs to be prevented. If it is not prevented, a general view will emerge that the concept of Indonesia as a secular state can be turned by extremists into a weapon for driving the government into a corner.

# DPR DISAPPROVES OF PROPOSED ASEAN PARLIAMENT

Jakarta SINAR HARAPAN in Indonesian 26 Sep 83 pp 1, 12

[Text] Jakarta, 26 September--The Indonesian Parliament [DPR] cannot agree to the Philippine concept of forming an ASEAN [Association of Southeast Asian Nations] Parliament, as was proposed at the Fifth General Assembly of the ASEAN Inter-Parliamentary Organization. This was stated by Kharis Suhud, the chairman of the Indonesian Parliamentary Delegation to the Sixth General Assembly of AIPO [Asian Inter-Parliamentary Organization], which will be held in Singapore in October 1983. Kharis Suhud was answering questions from reporters at the Bina Graha offices after meeting with President Suharto on Monday morning [26 September].

According to Kharis Suhud, the reason for this refusal is that Indonesia continues to hold to the Bangkok Declaration of 1967, in which the formation of ASEAN was stated to be for the purpose of cooperation among the countries involved and not for their integration.

In addition, he added, if we agree with this concept, this would be the same as surrendering our sovereignty, and this would be in conflict with the constitution of the Republic of Indonesia.

Kharis Suhud added: "That is the reason why we will strongly object to accepting this proposal."

At the AIPO session in Singapore, in addition to discussing the question of formation of an ASEAN Parliament, there will also be discussion of the location of the permanent secretariat of the AIPO.

In Indonesia's view, since the secretary general of ASEAN already has his headquarters in Jakarta, it would also be a good idea if the permanent secretariat of AIPO were located in Jakarta.

However, Kharis Suhud said, a decision on this question will depend on the consensus developed at the Sixth General Assembly of AIPO.

The Indonesian Delegation to the AIPO general assembly will consist of 15 members representing all factions in Parliament and led by Kharis Suhud, deputy chairman of Parliament.

The AIPO general assembly will be held from 5-7 October 1983.

JOINT INSTRUCTION AGAINST IRREGULARITIES IN TRANSMIGRATION PROGRAM

Jakarta SINAR HARAPAN in Indonesian 29 Sep 83 p 12

[Article: "Contents of Joint Instruction by Attorney General and Minister of Transmigration"]

[Text] Jakarta, 29 September--Ismail Saleh, attorney at law and Indonesian attorney general, and Minister of Transmigration Martono on Wednesday [28 September] issued a joint instruction to prevent and to take action against irregularities in the implementation of the transmigration program. The joint instruction had been in preparation since June 1983 after two meetings held previously by the cabinet ministers on the subject. As is known, the attorney general on an earlier occasion had issued a separate, joint instruction with the minister of cooperatives and the minister of forestry.

The new joint instruction is numbered INS-128/MEN/IX/1983 [in the minister of transmigration series] and INS.010/JA/9/1983 [in the attorney general series]. It is entitled: "Unified Development and Security in the Implementation of the Transmigration Program," and it is directed to all regional offices of the Department of Transmigration and to the chiefs of provincial prosecutors' offices throughout Indonesia. Its text is as follows:

"First, improve joint cooperation in order to achieve unity of action and language in the framework of implementation, development, and security of the transmigration program, through preventive and repressive action.

"Secondly, implement full cooperation as intended in the first point above, through the adoption of the following procedures:

"(1) If the chief of a provincial office of transmigration or the chief of a provincial prosecutor's office receives a report from the people regarding a violation of the regulations in the implementation of the transmigration program, the two offices are required to take the following steps immediately:

"(a) If as a result of the administrative investigation carried out by the transmigration official there are strong indications of criminal behavior, the chief of the provincial transmigration office is required to contact the provincial

prosecutor's office so that they can meet and consider what action is required to be taken in the form of preventive action or repressive measures, as well as administrative security action.

"(b) In case the provincial prosecutor's office receives a report regarding a violation of the regulations covering implementation of the transmigration program, the provincial prosecutor's office shall immediately contact and inform the chief of the provincial transmigration office of the action which needs to be taken, either in the preventive or repressive field, and so that this step followed by administrative security action.

"2. If as a result of the action taken there is sufficient proof that a criminal act has taken place, the chief of the provincial transmigration office will immediately take steps to suspend the state employee concerned and appropriate security action against the (private) contractor believed to be involved, to fill the position left vacant by the suspended state employee, and to take other administrative steps to ensure that there is no interruption of activity in the implementation of the transmigration program, provided that the investigation continues.

"3. The investigation of criminal cases involving the implementation of the transmigration program in the provinces, which will be carried on by the provincial prosecutor's office, may include an official of the Department of Transmigration for as long as necessary.

"4. Repressive action shall be taken, bearing in mind the aspects of development and security in the implementation of the transmigration program, so that the program will not be brought to a halt, with resulting stagnation which could be an obstacle to carrying out the transmigration effort.

"5. The chiefs of provincial transmigration offices and the chiefs of provincial prosecutors' offices are each required to submit reports regarding the results of the investigation that has been carried out to the minister of transmigration and the attorney general.

"This instruction shall enter into effect on 28 September 1983."

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CSO: 4213/31

ECONOMIC COOPERATION AMONG ASEAN NATIONS VIEWED

BK071520 Jakarta Domestic Service in Indonesian 1200 GMT 7 Nov 83

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] One of the results of the ASEAN foreign ministerial meeting in Jakarta on Monday was the signing of a basic agreement on joint undertakings in the industrial sector by the five ASEAN member-countries. The result of this meeting was an indication that the ASEAN foreign ministers' meeting had various aspects, not only political, such as withdrawing Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea in the framework of finding an overall political solution to the Kampuchean issue.

As far as Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Thailand, and Singapore are concerned, the signing of the basic agreement on joint undertakings in the industrial sector marked an important step, not less important than a peaceful settlement of the current Kampuchean conflict. In other words, if a withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea could guarantee security and political stability in Southeast Asia, the cooperation in joint undertakings for industrial development among the ASEAN member-countries could bring about industrial and technological progress to the region.

In the past several years, ASEAN has strengthened cooperation among its member-countries in the economic sector in general and in the industrial sector in particular thanks to progress made in both fields in each of the member-countries. The signing of the basic agreement on joint undertakings in the industrial sector by the ASEAN member-countries was another step forward, which deserves mentioning, because quite a long time had been spent deliberating on it.

The basic agreement is one of a series of recommendations brought forward at an ASEAN economic ministers' meeting in Manila last May. The basic objective of the series of recommendations is to strengthen cooperation in overall ASEAN economic and industrial development. Therefore, the basic agreement on joint undertakings in the industrial sector, which was signed in Jakarta on Monday, cannot be isolated from the objective of strengthening cooperation and developing the economies and industry of ASEAN countries.

It was for this reason, that along with the agreement, it was also agreed upon that the products of the ASEAN joint projects would get tariff preferences from countries participating in the joint undertaking. This means that industrial products of ASEAN countries, which are traded among those taking part in a joint undertaking in the industrial sector, will enjoy tax relief. It is thus clear that ASEAN has made another step forward in the field of industrial and economic cooperation.

CSO: 4213/52

CONSUMERS WOULD BE INJURED IF IMPORTS ARE SHUT OFF

Jakarta MERDEKA in Indonesian 19 Sep 83 pp 1, 11

[Text] The government will try to become the leading consumer of domestic products, but, contrary to the recommendations of domestic producers, it cannot be hasty in shutting off imports.

This was the view expressed by Ginandjar Kartasasmita, the junior minister for increasing the use of domestic products, at a working meeting with the Second Commission of Parliament on Friday at the Parliament building in Senayan. The junior minister was accompanied by Minister and State Secretary Soedharmono.

Ginandjar said that there are still consumers who do not know that their needs can be met by products manufactured in Indonesia, and, on the other hand, there are still producers who are not ready to manufacture needed products.

"If we are hasty in shutting off imports we would be serving the interests of only one side and would not be taking the needs of consumers into account," he said.

Ginandjar said that the government will conduct long-range studies and research on a continuing basis with the aim of giving domestic producers the ability to compete on both foreign and domestic markets and of getting consumers to change their attitude and show a preference for domestic products.

He said that there are producers who still are not ready to produce needed products and therefore are unable to compete with imported products. This situation is a handicap and should be eliminated, he said.

The effort to increase the use of domestic products requires that a good relationship exist between producers and consumers. If the quality of products is considered to be poor then the producers must try to improve the quality of their products without jeopardizing the interests of consumers.

## Protection

As regards protection for domestic products, Ginandjar said that this matter is being discussed by an interdepartmental team headed by the minister of commerce and composed of personnel from the Department of Finance and Department of Industry. Personnel from other government departments also participate in the meetings when the production sector being discussed falls within their purview.

He said that each domestically produced commodity is discussed and that priority is given to commodities that are considered to have an adequate volume of production and good product quality. He also noted that there is a lot of competition in Indonesia and that consumers have a variety of choices and that their interests are adequately guaranteed.

He said that whatever efforts are made to protect and develop domestic production, in the end it is the consumer who exercises his right to choose between products.

Ginandjar said that the protection of domestic production, accompanied by the guided and regulated development of production sectors, could increase the ability of domestic producers to manufacture goods that satisfy the taste of of and are of the quality desired by the public. The working meeting was chaired by Mukadji, the chairman of the Second Commission and a member of the armed forces faction in Parliament.

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CSO: 4213/16



# NEW CREDIT SYSTEM INTENDED TO STOP DEFAULTS BY FARMERS

Jakarta MERDEKA in Indonesian 16 Sep 83 pp 1, 11

[Text] In order to prevent further defaults in the repayment of credit, beginning in the Fourth 5-Year Plan (PELITA IV) the government will implement a new system of credit for farming operations in all provinces. Pilot projects employing the new credit system already are underway in West Sumatra, Central Java and East Java. If the pilot projects prove successful, in the sense that there are no more arrears in the repayment of credit, then it is expected that farmers will be receiving the new credit packet at the beginning of next year.

Engr Achmad Affandi, the minister of agriculture, discussed the new credit system in Jakarta on Thursday at a working meeting with the Fourth Commission of Parliament. The commission is chaired by Warno Hardjo. Achmad Affandi was accompanied by three junior ministers and first-echelon officials of the Department of Agriculture.

Before entering into a preliminary discussion of the department's allocations under the draft national budget for 1984/85, the minister said that it is clear from the course of its development to date that the mass credit system (for the Bimas programs) is faced with problems that are caused by continuously mounting arrears. The government feels that this situation cannot be permitted to continue and that firm limits of tolerance must be established.

The minister concurred with a member of the commission who said that the many types of credit received by farmers was a factor in the defaults. In addition to the Bimas credit, farmers receive credit for slaughter cattle, for milk cows, and for crops. Not infrequently a farmer will end up with four kinds of credit, all of which have to be repaid at the same time.

The minister said that the new system of farming operations credit is expected to make it easier for the farmers to repay their loans, since they will be receiving only one type of credit packet.

Achmad Affandi added that the government feels that credit repayment discipline must be strengthened immediately so that the people do not become accustomed to being in arrears in their loan repayments. Official reports to May 1983 show that old arrears under the mass credit program stood at 71.4 billion rupiah as of 30 June 1981, and that new arrears accumulating between

July 1981 and March 1983 total 72.5 billion rupiah. This means that total arrears for the period 1979-1983 (as of March) come to 143.9 billion rupiah.

#### Adhere to Standing Policy

In response to a question from a commission member, Minister Affandi said that during PELITA IV the government will continue to adhere to its standing policy, that is, it will continue to provide the credit facilities it has pioneered while making the necessary adjustments.

These adjustments include the improvement of loan repayment discipline, and also soliciting the participation of groups of farmers and village unit cooperatives in the process of planning, applying for, distributing and repaying credit advanced for the production programs of the members of the groups and cooperatives.

The minister said that the government feels that the type of adjustments that are needed are those that will strengthen that which is weak, give flexibility to that which is rigid, sharpen that which is blunt, tighten up that which is slack, add to that which is deficient, and simplify that which is exorbitant.

In written comments on the subject of the estate subsector, Minister Affandi said that the government concurred with the Fourth Commission in its desire that firm action be taken against foreign companies that are neglecting or have abandoned their estate land.

In order to ensure that estate land is controlled and utilized, the government will withdraw the agricultural use rights of the foreign companies and transfer them to capable parties, or will convert to other types of crops and establish nucleus estate and smallholder projects.

According to a report of the Directorate General of Estates, there are approximately 201,755.84 hectares of neglected estate land in Indonesia at the present time.

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CSO: 4213/16

PLANS, ACHIEVEMENTS OF DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WORKS

Jakarta HARIAN UMUM AB in Indonesian 16 Sep 83 pp 1, 3

[Text] Engr Suyono Sosrodarsono, the minister of public works, says that the worldwide economic recession is having a definite effect on the implementation of the projects of the Department of Public Works in the 1983/84 year.

By way of example, the minister said that economizations are being made in the department's rupiah budget and that aid from export credits is being postponed. He noted, however, that most of the 1983/84 projects have been continued from 1982/83 and that continued projects are being funded in the 1983/84 national budget.

The minister made these comments in responding to a question from a member of the Fifth Commission of Parliament during a working meeting with the commission on Thursday at the Parliament building in Senayan, Jakarta. The minister also said that, with the devaluation of the rupiah, adjustments are being made in the department's work programs for 1983/84 and the 1983/84 project disbursement schedule is being re-examined. Efforts to achieve 1983/84 targets continue to be carried out according to plan.

When asked about the direction and policy of development programs in PELITA IV (Fourth 5-Year Plan), Suyono said that in order to improve the living standards, the intellectual quality of life, and the welfare of all of the people, then priority is being given to economic development and emphasis is being placed on the agricultural sector. The aim here is to strengthen self-sufficiency in food production and industry.

The minister said that during PELITA IV the work programs of the department will be used to support increased food production. Emphasis will continue to be placed on intensification in the handling of irrigation projects, and this will include not only the rehabilitation and upgrading of dams and primary irrigation systems but also the construction of tertiary and quaternary systems.

Efforts will also be made to protect the locations of irrigation intensification projects from damage by floods.

As a consequence of these flood control activities, attention will be given to river improvement and swamp reclamation projects and new irrigation systems will be constructed during PELITA IV.

The minister said that a number of conditions must be met for a new irrigation system to be constructed. One of these conditions is an adequate supply of farmers, since the farming of irrigated rice fields requires a relatively large number of workers. It must also be determined whether or not the farmers are prepared to support the project by releasing their land, maintaining tertiary and quaternary irrigation systems, constructing rice paddies, and so on.

Farmers also must be prepared to adhere to the planned system of planting. If this is done then the irrigation systems--which are built at no small cost to the government--can be very efficiently utilized, the minister said.

#### Small and Intermediate Systems

Minister Suyono said that experience has shown that the construction of new irrigation systems requires the expenditure of no small amount of time and money. Consequently, priority is being given to the construction of small irrigation systems, especially systems that can be quickly placed in operation, and also intermediate systems.

The working meeting with the Fifth Commission was chaired by H. Andi Pattaray, the commission chairman. During the meeting the minister of public works also described his department's work programs for PELITA IV.

He said that the development programs of the department are geared to support increased food production, the transmigration program, industrial development and public health, and that during PELITA IV attention also will be given to the upgrading of communications, public welfare, environmental improvements and the management of construction services.

In the communications sector, attention will be given to the improvement of infrastructure linking production, consumer and port areas, and to the construction of roads into isolated areas that have a potential for development.

The minister said that traffic jams are a common characteristic of areas that have a relatively high level of development. And since traffic jams represent a useless waste of energy, then toll expressways should be built. Since the principle of equitable distribution does not permit funds from the national budget to be used for the construction of expressways, then the users of the expressways will have to finance the construction of these roads through the payment of tolls.

#### First Year of PELITA IV

In response to a question from a member of the commission, the minister said that the programs and activities that have been planned for the 1984/85 fiscal year, the first year of PELITA IV, will deal with project implementation, achievement of targets, handling priorities, and various restrictions and obstacles that are being encountered.

In addition to programs for the repair and improvement of existing irrigation systems and the construction of new irrigation systems, swamp reclamation programs, and forest, soil and water preservation programs, an effort will be made to support an increase in the production of fish and shrimp during the 1984/85 fiscal year. In this first year of PELITA IV a pilot project will be carried out in cooperation with the Department of Agriculture and surveys will be conducted.

The minister of public works also described the results achieved by his department during PELITA III. He said that as of the end of August 1983 new irrigation works covering an area of 405,894 hectares had been constructed, and that the program for the repair and upgrading of irrigation works covered an area of 357,237 hectares. An area of 401,656 hectares of swampland has been reclaimed and converted into irrigated ricefields. River safety and improvement projects cover an area of 536,242 hectares, and tertiary irrigation works covering an area of 1,508,310 hectares have been constructed.

In addition, repair and maintenance work has been completed on 27,130 km of roadway, 8,260 km have been upgraded, and 1,210 km of new roads have been built.

Also, as of August 1983 a total of 76,476 units of public housing had been built, housing renovation projects had been carried out in a total of 3,703 villages, and urban residential environmental improvement projects had been carried out in an area covering a total of 8,652 hectares. Facilities for the supply of potable water have been constructed and are delivering water at a rate of 14,265 liters per second to an additional 3,275,990 people.

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CSO: 4213/16

**EFFORTS TO OBTAIN TECHNOLOGY TRANSFER URGED**

Jakarta KOMPAS in Indonesian 26 Sep 83 pp 1, 9

[Text] Jakarta, KOMPAS--To obtain a transfer of technology from Japan, Indonesian businessmen cannot merely wait around for it but must aggressively try to obtain such a technology transfer. This is because Japan itself must also struggle to obtain technology from foreign countries.

Eiichi Hashimoto, chairman of the Japanese delegation to the "Fourth Meeting of the Indonesia-Japan Economic Cooperation Committee," made this comment at a press conference on Saturday [24 September] after the meeting, which was held at the Hotel Sahid in Jakarta, was concluded. Also participating in the press conference and making a statement at it were Sukamdani Sahid Gitosardjono, general chairman of KADIN Indonesia [Indonesian Chamber of Commerce and Industry]; Dr A. Baramuli, chairman of the Indonesian delegation; and Tony Agus Ardie, deputy chairman of the Indonesian delegation.

According to Eiichi Hashimoto, in principle Japanese businessmen are ready to provide technology they own to Indonesian businessmen in the framework of the industrialization of that country. He said: "However, in providing such technology Japanese businessmen don't want to do only that. For Indonesian businessmen to obtain such technology they must know how to pursue it."

The technology owned by Japanese businessmen, both large and small, is the product of their own efforts. They didn't wait around until they were given the technology by the foreign country which owned it. Therefore, if they are ordered to teach or provide the technology they own to other people, just like that, they won't be willing to do so.

Eiichi Hashimoto stated: "Developing a number of training centers for the transfer of technology in the framework of an effort to provide a model of Indonesian-Japanese economic cooperation--this is very important. However, after such a training center has been established, Indonesia shouldn't just wait around to obtain the technology. Indonesian businessmen must aggressively pursue it and struggle to get the technology. This is the way Japanese businessmen in the past struggled to obtain technology from foreign countries."

Meanwhile, Sukamdani S. Gitosardjono, the general chairman of KADIN Indonesia, when asked about the technique or way of obtaining technology owned by businessmen from Japan or other foreign countries, was not prepared to answer. Sukamdani told reporters: "Basically, there are many ways of obtaining technology from abroad. However, I can't give you the technique or way of obtaining such technology. Wouldn't this damage the prestige of the Indonesian nation if you were told the techniques used?"

#### Discouraged

The meeting held by KADIN Indonesia with the Association of Alumni from Japan (PERSADA) took place on 23-24 September 1983. The meeting, which was attended by 180 Indonesian and 120 Japanese businessmen, was opened by Vice President Umar Wirahadikusumah. Speeches at the meeting were also delivered by the coordinating minister for economic, financial, and industrial affairs; the minister of manpower, the minister of industry, the ministry of trade, and the minister of mining and energy.

Regarding capital investment by Japanese businessmen in Indonesia, Eiichi Hashimoto, chairman of the Japanese delegation, said that the Japanese capital invested in Indonesia was the largest in size and was the most important, compared to capital invested by other countries.

In the future Japan considers it will be necessary to increase its capital investment in Indonesia. In that context the Japanese Government should also be invited to invest in Indonesia.

However, at present, he said, the Japanese Government is not yet able to invest capital in large amounts in foreign countries. This is because the economic situation in Japan is going through some difficulties. The state budget has a deficit of about \$450 million.

Meanwhile, private Japanese businessmen are not particularly interested in investing their capital in foreign countries. They are averse to investing capital in countries outside of Japan. Therefore, if it is desirable for Japanese businessmen to invest their capital in Indonesia, the Indonesians must know how to stimulate them to do so.

Japanese businessmen, who up to now have invested their capital in Indonesia in jointly-owned companies, generally feel disappointed over the large losses they have suffered from the two devaluations of the rupiah ordered by the Indonesian Government.

Regarding the devaluation question, which has made private Japanese businessmen reluctant to invest their capital in Indonesia, this matter has been discussed with Ali Wardhana, coordinating minister for economics, finance, and industry. Eiichi Hashimoto said: "I was informed by Ali Wardhana that there will be no more devaluations in Indonesia."

#### Permanent Body

Meanwhile, Dr A. Baramuli, chairman of the Indonesian delegation, said that as a result of the Fourth Meeting of the Indonesia-Japan Economic Cooperation Committee it had been decided to form a permanent body for Indonesia-Japan economic co-operation.

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CSO: 4213/35



PROGRESS OF FAMILY PLANNING PROGRAM REPORTED

Jakarta KOMPAS in Indonesian 26 Sep 83 pp 1, 9

[Article: "President Suharto: Don't Treat Family Planning As a Routine Matter; It Must Be Promoted Continuously"]

[Text] Jakarta, KOMPAS--President Suharto has asked that the KB (Family Planning) program not be regarded as a form of routine activity. On the contrary, it must continue to be promoted and encouraged so that people will always keep it in mind. This is because each year there are new couples who possibly have not yet yet heard of or understand the KB concept.

This hope, expressed by the chief of state, was stated to Dr Haryono Suyono, the chairman of the BKKBN [National Family Planning Coordination Body], at the Bina Graha offices on Saturday [24 September]. He had come to report on various aspects of current KB activity, especially the "smiling safari."

According to the BKKBN chairman, the intensification of the population and family planning program (KKB) through a "unified smiling safari" program [Indonesian word for "smiling"--senyum--is an acronym for "It's really fine and good for society"] has succeeded in persuading 1.16 million couples of childbearing age to become new KB members. This amounts to 40 percent of the 4 million participants of childbearing age who are targeted for 1983-84. Up to July 1983 11.3 million persons were active participants in the KB program, or 46.8 percent of the existing number of couples of childbearing age in Indonesia.

In the "smiling safari" program, according to Dr Haryono Suyono, not only is KB information provided, but health inoculations are given, advice on the care of young children is offered, information on the P4 [Pancasila Indoctrination Course] is provided through a stage performance, and there is even an exhibition of the work done by mothers in the PKK [Family Welfare Program].

## Outside of Java

The KB "smiling safari" program, which some time ago was only in operation in Java, according to Dr Haryono Suyono, has been extended to West Sumatra, North Sumatra, and East Nusa Tenggara, which are areas supporting the effort.

In the "smiling safari" program it has turned out that the people have a very considerable interest in participating in it. At every place where the program is put on no less than 1,000 potential members of KB have been provided with the service. A large proportion of them already have IUD [intra-uterine device] or spiral contraceptives. Indeed, in East Nusa Tenggara there are about 2,500 to 3,000 new participants in the KB program.

Participation by the people not only involves indigenous Indonesians but also includes Indonesian citizens of Chinese descent. This was very surprising in the case of North Sumatra. Intensification of the combined population and family planning program [KKB], according to Dr Haryono Suyono, at the same time has clearly provided a forum for bringing the nation together.

The provinces which have reached a rather high target of participation are West Java, Central Java, metropolitan Jakarta, Lampung, Bengkulu, South Kalimantan, Central Kalimantan, and North Sulawesi. Indeed, in Central Kalimantan the target has been overfulfilled, reaching 155 percent of the goal.

Last August it was estimated that about 470,000 new participants in KB could be brought into the program. By August 1983 new KB participants totaled 1,670,000 participating couples, or 40 percent of the 1983-84 goal.

He declared that, in carrying out the intensified KKB program through the "smiling safari" mentioned above, in the areas where the KKB program is already at a high level of effort, the demands for service and the dynamics of the people who are participating in the KB program are not limited merely to obtaining advice on the birth of children but have also developed to the point where they seek to limit the number of children by choosing surgical sterilization. In this connection this practice has not yet been included in the program.

## Program Review

In connection with the effort to intensify the KKB program Dr Haryono Suyono also reported to President **Suharto** on the preparations to hold a program review meeting in the middle of October in Jakarta.

He also reported on the planned visit to Indonesia of members of parliament from ASEAN [Association of Southeast Asian Nations] countries at the beginning of October. This group will also be accompanied by experts from the East-West Center [in Hawaii]. At present they are attending a seminar on population and development issues in Kobe, Japan.

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It is hoped that President **Suharto** will be able to receive this delegation when they arrive in Jakarta.

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CSO: 4213/35

GOVERNOR: PEOPLE OF EAST TIMOR NOW LESS BACKWARD

Jakarta HARIAN UMUM AB in Indonesian 29 Sep 83 pp 1, 7

[Article: "As a Result of Portuguese Colonialism for 500 Years, People of East Timor at Time of Integration with Indonesia Were 90 Percent Backward"]

[Text] Dili, HARIAN UMUM AB--The backwardness and ignorance of the people of East Timor as a result of 500 years of Portuguese colonialism affected 90 percent of the population at the time of integration with Indonesia. As of now this level of backwardness and ignorance has declined to 75 percent.

The fact that the people of East Timor are now 75 percent illiterate does not mean that they are stupid. They generally cannot write and read, but they have ideas and thoughts like us. This situation is a result of the colonial period, when the people of East Timor were not given an opportunity to study by the Portuguese colonialists. This was stated by Dr Mario Viegas Carascalao, the governor of East Timor, in his speech when he received 21 members of the 19th class of BUTSI volunteers [Indonesian Volunteer Workers Organization] on Wednesday [28 September] at the meeting hall of the Office of the Governor of East Timor.

The governor said that his visitors should appreciate that this area is characterized by a level of development below that of other areas of Indonesia. Its backwardness is a consequence of colonialism. It is still far different from other provinces.

However, the governor added, thanks to the help and attention provided by the central government and the strong desire of the people of East Timor over the past 7 years to integrate themselves with Indonesia, it is clear that East Timor is now far better off than it was 7 years ago, when East Timor was still under colonial rule. This can be seen in the construction of fully-equipped educational facilities, economic and communications facilities which are steadily improving, and the fact that many children of East Timor are now attending university.

The governor of East Timor hoped that the 21 BUTSI volunteers, most of them teachers who will work in the province on a test basis for 1 year, will have the right attitude when they go down to the villages. They are not here only to teach but

also to learn. In addition, they must have a positive, mental attitude and be filled with dedication.

Doctor Soetrisno from the Department of Manpower, who accompanied the 21 BUTSI volunteers, whom we met when he was about to return to Jakarta, said that the 21 volunteers were from several different provinces, including: 2 from Jakarta, 5 from East Nusa Tenggara, 5 from Maluku, and 5 from South Sumatra.

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CSO: 4213/31

PARLIAMENT DISCUSSES IMPLEMENTATION OF AGRARIAN LAW

Jakarta PELITA in Indonesian 23 Sep 83 pp 1, 8

[Article: "Basic Agrarian Law Has Not Yet Been Applied in a Responsible Way; Many Individuals Own More Land Than Is Permitted by Law"]

[Text] Jakarta, PELITA--Basic Law No 5 of 1960 (the Basic Agrarian Law) has not been implemented in a responsible way throughout Indonesia because there are still many individuals who own and control more land than is permitted, as a result of which absentee landlords are found in many areas and a great deal of land has been allowed to lie fallow.

Imam Churmen and Dr Usman Hasan, both members of Parliament, and Prof Dr A. P. Parlindungan, the rector of USU [University of North Sumatra], have provided a picture of the agrarian problem in Indonesia in connection with the implementation of Law No 5 of 1960. They have done this in relation to the 23rd anniversary of the Basic Agrarian Law, which was previously known as Agrarian Day or National Farmers' Day, 24 September.

Basic Law No 5 of 1960, as described by Prof Dr A. P. Parlindungan, contains the essential points of land reform in Indonesia. According to Imam Churmen, land reform in Indonesia should have been completed by now. This means that the control of land in excess of permitted limits and its distribution to the farmers entitled to it under the law are matters which should have been disposed of by now.

However, Imam Churmen says, what he sees emerging are precisely those new land-owners who do not wish to comply with the law and pay no attention to the provisions of the law still in effect regarding the maximum limits on ownership of land.

He said that he very much hoped that land reform, as a restructuring of rights to the land, will be reactivated in 1983 or in the course of the Fourth 5-Year Plan.

## Should Be Cleared Up

In particular Dr Usman Hasan, who is secretary general of HKTI (Association of Indonesian Farmers' Organizations), is asking the government to clear up quickly the status of land owned by absentee landlords, while land which has been allowed to lie fallow should be made productive in an efficient way.

He declared that the provisions contained in the Basic Agrarian Law indicate that the maximum ownership of dry land shall not exceed 6 hectares, while the maximum ownership of flooded ricefields may not exceed 5 hectares. At present 11 million farmers own only one-half of a hectare, while 6 million other farmers own only one-quarter of a hectare.

The secretary general of HKTI, who is a member of Parliament, pointed out that land has a social function, as stated in Indonesian customary law [hukum adat]. Land should not be used as a instrument to exert pressure on others and as a means of oppression.

In this connection Prof Dr A. P. Parlindungan sees a need for a national agrarian law based on the customary law on land and which would guarantee certainty in the application of the law to all of the Indonesian people, without abolishing those elements of law that are founded on religious law.

He said that a national agrarian law must make it possible to implement the functions of the land, water, and air in the interests of the people, and to meet their needs in terms of the demands of history with regard to the agrarian question.

## Legal Bases

Imam Churmen, who is a member of Committee IV of Parliament, which handles agricultural and labor matters, among other things, states that in Basic Law No 5 of 1960 it is well known that there are guidelines for clarification of: (1) agrarian law problems, (2) administrative problems regarding land ownership, (3) problems involving land use, and (4) problems in taking care of the land.

On the basis of these four guidelines, it is our view that the reference to the state in Section 33 of the Constitution of 1945 means the unitary Republic of Indonesia. As a result, it is clear that the meaning of the phrase "shall be controlled by the state" is the same as "shall be controlled by the Indonesian people as a unit." The characteristic of control must be dynamic and active, because the government is required, in the exercise of that control, to provide prosperity to all of the people.

The law itself indicates the existence of a balance between the interests of society (the social function) and the interests of the individual.

## In the Public Interest

Regarding the abolition of a right to land and the property located on it, this is regulated by Law No 20 of 1961, which implements Section 18 of Basic Agrarian

Law No 5 of 1960. However, it must be truly and clearly indicated by regulation and in the public interest that in case of the use of forced transfer in connection with land matters there is proper compensation and that the interests of the individual are not confused with the public interest. In addition proper compensation shall be provided to the people whose rights are taken away, in accordance with the standards and values of the state based on the Pancasila [Five Principles of the Nation].

He said: "The implementation of all of this was taken care of in Minister of Home Affairs Regulation No 15 of 1975 concerning the handling of land releases in the interests of the government."

In order to avoid damaging the public interest, the ownership and control of land in excess of certain limits is not permitted under Law No 56 of 1960. The land reform program is to be applied to such land.

According to Government Regulation No 224 of 1961, the ownership of land outside the district, regency, and even the province of the owner and the ownership of land above the permitted limits is clearly in violation of the Constitution of 1945.

#### Land That Has Changed Hands

Imam Churmen said: "Land reform does not merely abolish Western laws by replacing them with national law covering the use, control, and designation of land. However, its most basic meaning is raising the people's welfare, particularly in terms of a just distribution of ownership of land in excess of the permitted limits (this means the lands previously owned by the landlords) and ensuring that every farm family obtains 2 hectares of land."

In Government Regulation No 224 of 1961 a formula is set out regarding the excess land which is to be redistributed to farmers. They are required to pay for it in terms of an estimated valuation of the produce of the land prepared in a detailed way. The period of time set down for this payment for the land is 15 years.

He asks whether it is true that former owners of land who were affected by the land reform were fully compensated and whether it is true that the lands distributed to the farmers are still controlled by or have changed hands to powerful people. The problem is that in the case of land which was distributed and was received by members of the BTI/PKI [Indonesian Farmers' Corps of the Indonesian Communist Party] the recipients had their rights taken away after the G.30.S/PKI [abortive coup d'etat in 1965 by the Indonesian Communist Party], and the land involved was completely taken over again by the state. Has the state turned the land over to other farmers, in accordance with the provisions of Government Regulation No 224 of 1961?

According to Imam Churmen, the Land Reform Fund Foundation is handling funds for the management of these lands.

Regarding Minister of Home Affairs Regulation No 15 of 1975, he said this involved: (1) The release of land in the interests of the government must be handled

by the Committee on Land Release; (2) In determining the amount of the compensation to be paid, this must be dealt with on the basis of collective discussions, taking into account the location of the land involved and using as a guideline a base price which is periodically determined by a committee as provided for in Minister of Home Affairs Regulation No 1 of 1975; (3) In the interests of private use which is not in support of the public interest or public infrastructure purposes or social facilities, this must be discussed directly between the parties concerned and the landowner, under the supervision of the local government authorities.

According to him, land in excess of permitted limits which is owned by certain elements has been turned into a commercial instrument to make large profits in a short period of time, that is, by using it as collateral to obtain credit. Meanwhile, land turned over to a bank as collateral remains out of production.

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CSO: 4213/35



✓ LAND USE APPROVED FOR SMALL PLANTATION HOLDERS

Jakarta HARIAN UMUM AB in Indonesian 29 Sep 83 p 5

[Article: "Governor of East Java Approves Allocation of 10,358 Hectares of Land For PIR Program"]

[Excerpt] Surabaya, HARIAN UMUM AB--Governor Wahono of East Java has approved an allocation of land to be turned into a People's Central Plantation (PIR) project in Malang Regency. The approval by the governor of East Java was contained in his Letter of Decision No 157 of 1983. The area involved is 10,358 hectares. The land allocations are in eight districts of the Malang Selatan area, involving 38 villages in all. In the eight districts the PIR project will be distributed as follows: Sumbermanjing Wetan District, 872 hectares; Kalipare District, 3,128 hectares; Donomulyo District, 1,848 hectares; Bantur District, 233 hectares; Gedangan District, 172 hectares; Dampit District, 595 hectares; Tirtoyudo District, 1,155 hectares; and Ampelgading District, 825 hectares.

Eddy Slamet, regent of Malang, who was contacted by a HARIAN UMUM AB representative at his office on Monday [26 September], stated that in view of the potential of the area involved in Malang Selatan, the estate commodities which will be developed will include coconuts, coffee, and cacao. Regent Slamet said that with regard to the meaning of a PIR project, there are still many aspects which are not yet fully understood by the farmers. He said that basically the agricultural estate provides a standard of development for smallholder production, involving a form of cooperation between the large estate and the smallholder, in which the large estate becomes the processing center for the smallholders.

According to Eddy Slamet, the objective in setting up a PIR project is to increase incomes, improve the living and welfare levels of the people, expand employment opportunities, make it easier to obtain industrial raw materials from within Indonesia, and balance development activity in the region by protecting natural resources and increasing non-petroleum and natural gas exports.

In addition to that, according to the regent of Malang, the development of PIR's is in accordance with the standards of regional development policy in the Regency of Malang. The implementation of the PIR project will be an effort to accelerate the rate of development and increase the people's income. It is hoped that this

will hold down the number of unemployed persons and reduce the population flow to the cities. Later on, with this project fully functioning, it will indirectly speed up the development of infrastructure to meet the needs of the people, including safe drinking water, roads, bridges, schools, religious institutions, and clinics, and it will also help to protect the environment.

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CSO: 4213/31

## SHIPYARDS FACE STIFF COMPETITION FROM FOREIGN CONTRACTORS

Jakarta KOMPAS in Indonesian 15 Sep 83 pp 1, 11

[Text] According to Pontjo Nugroho Sutowo, the executive director of PT Adiguna Shipyard, many foreign contractors in Indonesia, and particularly those in the shipyard business, are engaging in "cutthroat" competition with the aim of wiping out national companies.

While Engr Soeparno, the executive director of PT Koja, feels that the obstacles encountered by domestic shipyard and drydock companies can be traced to the procedures required for importing feedstock, government regulations on agent representatives, and problems with working capital and manpower.

The executives of the two national shipyard companies expressed these views before Commission VI (mining, energy, industry and the Capital Investment Coordination Board) of Parliament in a meeting chaired by Amir Yudowinarno, the deputy chairman of the commission.

"If we examine the statistics on bids made by foreign contractors recently we will be convinced that these bids cannot cover the direct costs of fabrication for the projects concerned," Pontjo Sutowo said.

"We believe that their objective in using this tactic is, within a certain time frame, to give national companies no other choice but to close down," he added.

Engr Soeparno said that he hoped that the government would provide assistance so that national companies could maintain continuity in their operations and could develop the potential to participate in the government's development plans.

Pontjo Nugroho said that no foreign companies had participated in the development of PT Adiguna Shipyard.

Despite the lack of foreign assistance in its development, around the end of 1981 the company expanded its sphere of operations to include the fabrication of offshore oil facilities. The company has had good results in completing several projects for ARCO and IIAPCO, which are foreign oil companies that

have production sharing contracts with Pertamina. Over a 2-year period the company has saved the nation some \$8.9 million in foreign exchange by handling jobs that heretofore had been done by foreign contractors.

#### Low Work Efficiency

Engr Soeparno said that the government has good intentions in issuing its regulations but it should allow for a transition period before regulations on steel imports, agent representatives and other matters take effect. He noted that steel imports are still being handled by several state-owned enterprises. There are delays in delivery because the enterprises are not yet set up to handle the imports, he said.

He said that government regulations on agent representatives for the shipbuilding industry prevent the industry from making direct purchases itself. As a result the prices paid for goods on both national and international markets are higher than normal, and this is why the cost of ships built by domestic industry is higher than the cost of ships built abroad. The government has good intentions, especially in wanting to protect the agents, but the regulations have a negative effect on the shipbuilding industry because they keep the industry from maintaining complete control over its costs.

In response to a question from the commission, Engr Soeparno said that it is difficult for the domestic shipbuilding industry to find or control markets.

He said that this was because the government uses foreign credit to purchase ships.

"When ships are needed they look for foreign credit. Japan and Germany want us to buy as much of their equipment as possible, and they would like us to buy all of our ships from them," he said.

Engr Soeparno frankly admitted that when compared with foreign companies, the work efficiency of the domestic shipbuilding industry is low.

"If I may say so, the ratio in terms of individuals is 1 to 10, that is, 1 foreigner is the equivalent of 10 Indonesians," he said.

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CSO: 4213/14

NO OIL PRODUCTS PURCHASED ON SINGAPORE SPOT MARKET

Jakarta SINAR HARAPAN in Indonesian 14 Sep 83 pp 1, 12

[Text] According to Minister of Mining and Energy Prof Dr Subroto, contrary to a recent report in the BUSINESS TIMES of Singapore, Indonesia has not purchased 200,000 tons of solar oil (gas oil) and kerosene on the spot market in Singapore as a result of problems at the Cilacap refinery.

In response to a reporter's question he said, "That is not true. I have already checked with Pak Joedo." Minister Subroto was contacted by reporters at the Bina Graha building on Monday, where he met with President Suharto in connection with his planned departure on Tuesday afternoon for an OPEC meeting in Vienna.

When Drs Joedo Sumbono, the executive director of Pertamina, was contacted at his office on Tuesday he also affirmed that the report was false. "Furthermore, if we run short of oil for domestic needs, Pertamina still has a crude processing deal with oil companies in Singapore," he said.

"It would be more appropriate and logical for us to increase the amount of oil we have processed there," he added.

He said that the crude processing deal would remain in effect until the new refinery at Balikpapan is completed and in operation, and that at the present time 120,000 barrels of oil are being refined daily by oil companies in Singapore.

"If Pertamina did buy on the spot market the price would be higher and it would be a stupid thing for us to do," he said.

Joedo said that he thought the report probably came from oil traders who are active on the spot market.

Cilacap Refineries

In answer to a question about reported problems at the Cilacap refineries, Joedo said that the old refinery was operating normally.

The new refinery, Cilacap II, is undergoing trial operations and everything worked fine when the cold test runs (test pumping of cold oil) were made, he said.

Later, during the hot test runs, some deficiencies were found but readjustments and corrections were made right away.

"So the situation is normal as usual at the new plants and, thank God, we have been operating without any problems since the 15th of last month," he said.

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CSO: 4213/14

VALUE OF NATURAL RUBBER EXPORTS ESTIMATED AT \$800 MILLION

Jakarta SINAR HARAPAN in Indonesian 14 Sep 83 p 11

[Text] It is estimated that the value of Indonesia's exports of natural rubber will reach \$800 million for the 1983/84 year. The figure for the preceding year was only \$700 million. The increase in value is due primarily to the increase in the volume of rubber exports.

When contacted by a SINAR HARAPAN reporter on Tuesday, Engr Harry Tanugraha, the executive director of the Indonesian Rubber Merchants Association (GAPKINDO), said that the increase in Indonesian rubber exports was due to increased purchases by Japan, the United States and several countries in eastern Europe.

Rubber exports are also up because other large producers, Malaysia and Thailand, are not in an advantageous situation.

It is estimated that in the current year Indonesia will produce 950,000 tons of rubber, Malaysia 1.7 million tons, and Thailand 500,000 tons. It is also believed that Malaysia and Thailand will encounter production problems this year.

Approaches

The increase in Indonesia's rubber sales is reflected in the monthly sales contracts for September, which are up 400 percent over the preceding month.

Harry Tanugraha said that the United States is the largest buyer of Indonesian rubber and that it satisfies 65 to 70 percent of its demand for natural rubber with purchases from Indonesia. However, this year rubber sales to the United States will decline somewhat as a result of the role played by brokers. We should approach U.S. rubber dealers in this connection, he said.

He said that Indonesia should take advantage of the good situation of the international rubber trade, and that the commodity approach recently adopted by the Department of Commerce can be expected to produce a return of \$800 million from rubber exports in the current year.

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CSO: 4213/14

## INDIGENOUS ENTREPRENEURS' DISLIKE FOR NONPRIBUMI COUNTERPARTS EXPLAINED

Jakarta MERDEKA in Indonesian 21 Sep 83 pp 1, 11

[Text] Pontianak [West Kalimantan], Tuesday [20 September]--Pribumi [indigenous Indonesian] businessmen generally are not opposed to nonpribumi [non-indigenous Indonesian] businessmen, but what they don't like is the way the nonpribumi act, causing losses to the nation and state. This was stated by Probosutedjo, principal organizer of HIPPI (Association of Indonesian Pribumi Businessmen), in Pontianak today [20 September], in his speech to a meeting of the West Kalimantan council of HIPPI.

In this way, Probosutedjo said, if actions which damage the interests of all businessmen continue to take place, then as long as this goes on, relationships will naturally not develop to any extent.

The emergence of multi-national corporations (MNC), which emphasize their own interests, also makes it difficult to develop the kind of cooperation which is advocated in the Constitution of 1945. Probosutedjo said that nonpribumi businessmen in many cases had succeeded in developing into multi-national businessmen, making large profits. However, on the other hand many of the pribumi businessmen have been forced to close down because they are unable to compete with the multi-national businessmen. This situation is certainly not in accordance with the objectives of national development. He repeated that this situation, if it continues, will certainly make it difficult to develop cooperation among business firms. In fact, at present there are many business sectors which always oppose the development of business cooperation.

HIPPI is aware of all of these shortcomings and knows the causes for the success of multi-national businessmen over the past 14 years alone, Probosutedjo said. Pribumi businessmen in too many cases look for help from the government, while nonpribumi businessmen make their own way in accordance with the provisions of existing laws. Indeed, at times they more or less break the law and move in the direction of liberalism and free competition, Probosutedjo said. What the nonpribumi businessmen do is not wrong, because the regulations approve of what they do in the commercial field. However, at times these regulations are the product of the colonial era and are no longer in accordance with the principles of the Pancasila [Five Principles of the Nation], Probosutedjo said.



## Misuse

Probosutedjo said that the HIPPI, the HIPMI [Association of Young Indonesian Businessmen] and KADIN [Indonesian Chamber of Commerce and Industry] hope to have the trust of the government and of all businessmen. However, if among the businessmen there continue to be some who misuse the opportunities given them by the government, they won't be trusted. Probosutedjo asked: "If what we do always creates losses for the state and lowers the prestige of our country, then why should the government trust businessmen?"

If a director of KADIN, HIPPI, or even HIPMI obtains a concession to build a cement factory and then sells the license to a nonpribumi businessman, certainly this will cause the official awarding the concession to lose confidence in the pribumi businessman. This is also the case if a businessman obtains a contract to construct a large project. If later on the director is satisfied with earning a commission of 2 or 3 percent from turning over the actual construction to a foreign firm, why should the government have confidence in the directors of such organizations? In a similar way, if a director of an organization of businessmen obtains credit and then, later on, the credit is not properly repaid, certainly such behavior will also lose the confidence of the official concerned.

Therefore, every director of an association of businessmen must watch himself and make sure that what he does is not damaging to the government of the people. He must also be sure he does not misuse the name of the official concerned. In Indonesia most businessmen act improperly on many occasions, frequently damaging the interests of the state and the nation. If a person who has a bad reputation in society becomes a director of an organization of businessmen, will the government trust him, Probosutedjo asked.

Every businessman who obtains credit must repay it on time. He shouldn't try to avoid paying the interest, especially if he is a member of an organization of businessmen.

## Busy in Conferences

Probosutedjo repeated that we should not merely be busy in conferences, organizing committees, and preparing proposals and so forth in trying to increase our non-petroleum exports. Rather, businessmen who really want to help the government should get busy producing new commodities to increase our export volume. Probosutedjo said: "If we are just busy holding conferences over the next few years, we won't be able to increase the volume of our non-petroleum exports."

Like a ship which shakes apart under critical conditions, we are just talking about the problem. The ship could founder before the conference is over, he said. Probosutedjo said that if the HIPPI wants to increase its efforts, it must work hard at the steering wheel, and not just be contractors and go whining to the government or attend seminars, until our time is up and the results are uncertain.

The conference of the West Kalimantan branch of HIPPI was officially opened by Basuni Abubakar, deputy governor of the province.

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CSO: 4213/23

## INDONESIA

### EXPORT OF 224,000 TONS OF CEMENT PLANNED

Jakarta HARIAN UMUM AB in Indonesian 29 Sep 83 p 3

[Text] Jakarta, HARIAN UMUM AB--In order to increase exports of non-petroleum and natural gas commodities, the government will reactivate exports of cement while continuing to keep in mind domestic requirements.

Data obtained from the National Export Development Body (BPEN) of the Department of Trade show that in the second half of 1983 the government plans to export about 224,000 tons of cement.

The firms which have obtained licenses to export cement are: PT Semen Padang, PT Semen Andalas Indonesia, and PT Perkasa Indonesia Cement Enterprise (Three Wheels Brand).

PT Semen Andalas Indonesia will export about 96,000 tons of cement. This will be done in view of the fact that the cement market in the area near the plant is rather sluggish, which has caused stocks to accumulate amounting to about 20,000 tons at the factory at Lho Nga, about 18,000 tons at the storage facility in Belawan [port of Medan, North Sumatra], about 15,000 tons on the ships transporting cement, and about 45,000 tons in the form of cement clinkers.

Exports of cement from PT Semen Andalas Indonesia will be shipped to Sri Lanka, Malaysia, Singapore, and Maladewa (in the Maldives).

PT Semen Padang and PT Perkasa Indonesia Cement Enterprise (Three Wheels Brand) have each obtained quotas of about 12,000 tons and 18,000 tons, respectively, for export to Bangladesh.

Exports of cement from PT Semen Padang and PT Perkasa Indonesia Cement Enterprise (Three Wheels Brand), amounting to 30,000 tons in all, will be handled under a bid financed by the Bank Pembangunan Islam [Islamic Development Bank].

Meanwhile Sudwikatmono, the principal director of the Indocement Group of companies, in a statement to the press, said that it is hoped that by 1985 Indonesia will become the largest cement producing country in the world, with the entry into

production of three more revolving furnaces in the cement plants of the Indocement Group. This company will then produce about 7.7 million tons of cement annually.

Production from the three revolving furnaces was inaugurated in September 1983, thus beginning output from the sixth group of revolving furnaces with a capacity of 1.5 million tons. The flame beneath these furnaces was lit by the minister of industry.

The investment required for the sixth phase of expansion of Indocement Group cement plants is about \$173 million, and this involved financing of the machinery needed for ~~the project~~ by a Spanish bank, supported by a consortium of private Indonesian banks: the Bank Duta Ekonomi, the Bank Central Asia, and the Bank Niaga.

This was the first time a financial transaction was handled by private Indonesian national banks, acting as a consortium. The interest rate is 13.5 percent (not 18 percent, as some reports have it), and the period of the loan is 9 years, including a 2 year grace period.

The existing oven capacity of the cement plants owned by the Indocement Group is 4.7 million tons per year, according to Sudwikatmono, principal director of the Indocement Group.

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CSO: 4213/31

SEVEN FERTILIZER PLANTS UNDER CONSTRUCTION OR PLANNED

Jakarta MERDEKA in Indonesian 16 Sep 83 p 10

[Text] Engr Hartato, the minister of industry, feels that the national stock of fertilizer will be in good condition at the end of PELITA III (Third 5-Year Plan) and beginning of PELITA IV.

Planned production of urea fertilizer for the 1983/84 year plus stock on hand at the beginning of the year will total 3,221,727 tons, while demand for fertilizer plus 2 months of buffer stock will total only 2,929,265 tons. This means that Indonesia will have a surplus of 292,462 tons of urea fertilizer for export.

The minister provided this information in Jakarta on Thursday at a working meeting with the Sixth Commission of Parliament. The meeting was chaired by Sukarno, the deputy chairman of the commission.

It also is estimated that the government will have a surplus of 161,588 tons of urea fertilizer in the 1984/85 year. As regards triple superphosphate fertilizer, a surplus of 254,244 tons is estimated for the 1983/84 year and 150,000 tons for the 1984/85 year.

However, the minister said that domestic production of ammonium sulfate fertilizer is not sufficient to meet demand, and that all of the potassium chloride fertilizer that is used must be imported since none is produced in Indonesia.

In response to a question about the development of the fertilizer industry in Indonesia, Minister Hartato said that the demand for fertilizer will be met by building new plants and expanding existing plants.

The construction of PT Pupuk Kaltim I in Bontang Utara, East Kalimantan and of PT Asean Aceh Fertilizer is expected to be completed by the end of PELITA III. Two other fertilizer plants, PT Pupuk Iskandar Muda and PT Pupuk Kaltim II, are also under construction and should be completed in the first year of PELITA IV.

In order to meet the continuously mounting demand for fertilizer, the construction of two urea fertilizer plants and one triple superphosphate fertilizer plant has been planned for PELITA IV. Each of the urea fertilizer plants will have an annual capacity of 570,000 tons, and the triple superphosphate fertilizer plant will have a 500,000 ton capacity.

5458

CSO: 4213/16

## BRIEFS

BONTANG LNG REFINERY EXTENSION--President Suharto today dedicated an extension of the Bontang liquefied natural gas--LNG--refinery in East Kalimantan. The Bontang LNG plant now has four trains, each of which has a production capacity of 3.2 million tons a year. With a capacity of almost 7 million tons of LNG a year, the Bontang plant and the Arun LNG refinery in Aceh, North Sumateru, which is now also being extended, Indonesia has gone so far of other LNG-exporting countries. [sentence as heard] In 1980, Indonesia exported 8.56 million tons, while this year the LNG export will reach 9.53 million tons. President Suharto, on the occasion, said that the exploitation of LNG is timely as the LNG export yields a huge amount of foreign exchange. He says that foreign exchange is urgently needed to import capital commodities and other machines to boost development. Japan has been importing LNG from Indonesia for some time. Being the world's biggest LNG importer, Japan depends on Indonesia for 50 percent of the LNG, while in 1986, South Korea will purchase Indonesia's LNG. Indonesia is now seeking other markets for its LNG, such as South Korea, Singapore, and Taiwan, three newly-industrialized countries. [Text] [BK311244 Jakarta International Service in English 0800 GMT 31 Oct 83]

STABILIZATION OF OIL PRICE URGED--Indonesia calls on OPEC and non-OPEC nations to materialize the stabilization oil price. Speaking to newsmen in Jakarta today, Minister of Mining and Energy Professor Subroto says that one of the factors of the present decrease of oil price is the oil glut produced by OPEC and non-OPEC member countries. Today the world oil price is around \$28.35, slightly lower than that of OPEC official price, fixed at \$29 per barrel. Minister Subroto today reports to President Suharto on the completion of the steam-power electric project in Semarang, Central Java, which will save the [word indistinct] even Java Island. The project will be dedicated on 24 December. Electric enters village program will also be commissioned on the same day covering 437 villages with more than 58,000 consumers. Another project, namely, Air Maninjau hydropower electric in West Sumtera, with a capacity of 68 megawatts is almost completed, Minister Subroto concludes. [Text] [BK081523 Jakarta International Service in English 0800 GMT 8 Nov 83]

APPEAL FOR PALESTINIAN UNITY--Jakarta, 10 Nov (AFP)--Three prominent Indonesian Moslem leaders have called on the embassies of three mid-east Moslem countries to submit a declaration which calls for the re-creation of Palestinian unity, ANTARA News Agency reported today. The Moslem "Kiblat" foundation announced

yesterday that the three leaders had called on the embassies of Syria, Iraq and Algiers to submit the declaration which had been signed by a number of prominent Indonesians, including one-time Indonesian Prime Minister Mohammad Natsir. According to the Chairman of the Kiblat foundation, Akhmad Mussaffa Basyir, the declaration had already been wired to Syrian president, Haf'z al-Asad, King Hassan of Morocco in his capacity as chairman of the Committee-of-Seven on Palestine at the Arab Summit Conference in Fes, and the secretary general of the Arab League in Tunisia. The declaration also calls on the Indonesian Government to take diplomatic steps to assist efforts to re-create unity among Arab nations, and plans are ahead for a mission to Saudi Arabia to present it, ANTARA said. [Text] [BK100659 Hong Kong AFP in English 0445 GMT 10 Nov 83]

TROOPS TO IRIAN JAYA BORDER--Papua New Guinea has sent its troops to the border with Irian Jaya to guard a border survey team of that country against possible harassment by rebels in the Free Papua Organization. The survey is being conducted following a cooperation agreement with Indonesia to designate the boundary of the two countries. According to a high-ranking Papua New Guinean military officer, a total of 94 soldiers consisting of infantrymen and auxiliary units have been flown to (Hoggo) to guard the survey team. In the joint survey operation, Indonesia has also a survey team operating at the Indonesian border site. [Text] [BK271111 Jakarta Domestic Service in Indonesian 2300 GMT 26 Oct 83]

RUBBER MARKETING PROSPECTS GOOD--Rachmat Saleh, minister of trade, yesterday [28 September] received a visit from Frank J. Raniolo, chairman of the Rubber Trade Association of New York. On this occasion they discussed several types of problems related to marketing Indonesian rubber in the United States. M. Sutansyah, chief of the Bureau of Community Relations of the Department of Trade, told the press yesterday [28 September]: "Indonesia has good prospects for marketing rubber in the U. S. Raniolo thinks that the present quality of Indonesian rubber is the best available in the ribbed, smoked sheet category." He said further on this occasion that total U. S. rubber consumption is increasing by 8 percent per year in meeting industrial raw material requirements in that country. The matter of the rubber price at present is not the most important aspect of marketing the commodity because, according to Raniolo, the most significant aspect is the quality of the rubber. Furthermore, rubber from Indonesia has been adequately dried and is much appreciated by U. S. consumers. According to available data, about 45 percent of the volume of Indonesian rubber exports goes to the United States. Until recently, about 68 to 70 percent of natural rubber consumed in the U. S. is normally provided by Indonesia. However, with the world economic recession this figure has fallen to about 58 percent. Total Indonesian rubber exports in 1983 are expected to reach 355,598 tons, an increase of 7 percent over the 332,905 tons exported in 1982. In 1983 rubber exports are expected to be worth \$287,423,000, compared to \$254,671,000 in 1982. [Text] [Jakarta HARIAN UMUM AB in Indonesian 29 Sep 83 p 3] 5170

ILLEGAL RADIO TRANSMITTERS--Two illegal radio transmitters, the owners of which are unknown, were discovered by Irian Jaya fishermen some 15 miles from Jos Sudarso Bay in Jayapura. The equipment is currently being held by the 17th Irian Jaya Police Region Command for investigation. The commandant of the 1701st Jayapura Police Unit, Police Lieutenant Colonel Rusman Hadi said today that the two radio transmitters were discovered drifting at sea. One was found last week and the other on Friday afternoon. They are designed both to receive and transmit signals. The transmitters were found in life buoys with a diameter of more than 50 cm and were moored to iron anchors. The equipment, made in Japan, bore the markings (Goyo Mau II) on the side and were still operating using a 25 volt battery and a 5-meter vertical antenna. [Text] [BK051608 Jakarta Domestic Service in Indonesian 1500 GMT 5 Nov 83]

CSO: 4213/52



## KAMPUCHEA

### IM CHUDETH PROFILED ; KPNLF DEVELOPMENTS REPORTED

Bangkok MATUPHUM in Thai 3 Oct 83 p 5

[Article by Wuthiphong Lakkhami: "Im Chudeth, Minister and Fighter In the Deep Jungle"]

[Text] This handsome man, age 53, with a nicely shaped nose and beautiful, dark-colored skin, is like a Kampuchean of high class. He is quiet and thoughtful. Looked at superficially from the outside, he looks like a successful businessman who has a large and showy office in the bustling area of some capital city.

But his manner is gentle, and he is patient in explaining things. And so he could also be a teacher who has compassion for all his students.

There is only one thing that clearly indicates that Im Chudeth is a staff officer and that is his brilliance in formulating strategy and stipulating combat tactics. He also has a profound understanding of the problems that have arisen in Kampuchea, his native land in which neither he nor his compatriots have any ownership rights.

Strangely, very few people know anything about this man even though he is one of just a few leaders of a non-communist Khmer group that began waging a struggle in the jungles in the northern and northwestern regions of the country long before Prince Norodom Sihanouk or Son Sann entered the area.

Furthermore, when these two prominent leaders entered Kampuchea the first time, they were guarded and guided by Im chudeth and his fighters.

The thing that shows the power of this man is that he stands "shoulder to shoulder" with such veteran fighters as General In Tam of the pro-Sihanouk faction and Son Sen of the Khmer Rouge on the Defense Subcommittee of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea in his capacity as the representative of Son Sann's Kampuchean People's National Liberation Front (KPNLF).

To clarify things further, Im Chudeth is one of the three defense ministers in the government of Democratic Kampuchea.

#### A Deep Hurt In the Past

Even though Im Chudeth was born in the Khmer Republic and is a Khmer citizen, he received his primary education in Bangkok. He completed secondary school, Grade 12, at Saint Gabriel School and then returned to enter the Phnom Penh Military Academy, where he was first in his class.

Later on, Im Chudeth received a scholarship to attend the Staff Officers' College in France. He stayed there for 4 years. Later on, during one period in his military career, he had an opportunity to attend a special combat training course in the United States. He stayed there for 18 months.

Thus, it comes as no surprise that this former colonel in the armed forces of the Khmer Republic is fluent in foreign languages, including Thai, English and French.

What is clear is that in the period after 1970 when the Lon Nol government in Phnom Penh began to crack from the attacks of the Sihanouk faction, Colonel Im Chudeth carried on his government duties in Thailand for a period. Besides this, he sent his family to live in Bangkok.

One of the great tragedies in his life was about to occur. On 13 April 1975, his wife and children had no premonition that death was waiting for them. Only 4 days later, the Kampuchean Communist Party marched into Phnom Penh and liberated the capital of the Khmer Republic. They moved all the people out of the major cities to the rural areas.

The wife and children of Colonel Im Chudeth disappeared and were never seen again. This was a personal hurt that bore into him deeply. And in addition, he did not believe that the people wanted the Khmer Rouge regime. That is when Colonel Im Chudeth began fighting the communist government in Phnom Penh.

#### The Period of Fighting Alone

Democratic Kampuchea under the Khmer Rouge regime lasted for almost 4 years. Remembering what things were like, Phnom Penh was deserted and in the expansive rural areas of Kampuchea, people were conscripted to work like slaves on various production cooperatives. And concerning politics in Kampuchea during that period, the image is one of opponents being slaughtered.

Combining all these images of the Khmer Rouge regime, the picture is one of barbarism and savage oppression of the people. This may be because of the fact that the information available was completely one-sided and was disseminated by those who opposed the government in Phnom Penh. And

rumors were spread by word of mouth. Also, the mass media in the West helped spread such stories. But there were few people who could really tell what happened.

However, the Khmer Rouge government was the legitimate government politically, and it was recognized by the United Nations, which forms a stage for international political struggle.

However, concerning conditions inside Thailand, after the victory of the communist parties in Indochina, the revolutionary tide of the Communist Party of Thailand became much stronger.

Thus, Thailand felt that it was facing a serious communist threat both inside and outside the country. Only a few months later, the new government in Phnom Penh established diplomatic relations with neighboring countries, including Thailand, which had announced a policy of establishing good relations with the Khmer Rouge regime and remaining neutral and not interfering in the internal affairs of others. However, the neutralist policy of Thailand during that period was widely criticized, with people saying that this was just ordinary diplomatic language.

And the charge by the Pol Pot government that Thailand was aiding the "Khmer survivors along the border" was widely believed.

Colonel Im Chudeth and the other leaders of anti-communist Khmer groups stood alone in the international political tide.

#### Joining the National Forces to Resist Invasion

At the beginning of 1979, the Khmer Seri (SEREIKA), who were living along the border, lacked unity and lacked direction in their struggle. Even though there was great alarm at the threat posed by Vietnam, which had invaded Kampuchea, there was a lack of leadership to unite the various forces. The news reports received by the people of the world concerning these armed groups during this period were no different from those received earlier. That is, they were engaged in black market trading and in killing each other when there were disputes over profits or power.

Thus, there were many meetings between the leaders of the various groups in order to try to form a central organization. Colonel Im Chudeth played an important role in this since the very beginning.

"We discussed things and invited Prince Sihanouk to serve as the head of the united front. But he refused. Later on, we contacted Mr Son Sann in Paris," said a person close to Colonel Im Chudeth concerning the attempt to join forces.

Finally, the "Kampuchean People's National Liberation Front" was formed on 9 October 1979, or 10 months later, by joining six armed groups, that is, the groups of Prum Vith, Sa Ruat (Oluat), Chea Chhut, Kaeo Chun,

Major General Dien Del and Colonel Im Chudeth. These joined together loosely under the leadership of former prime minister Son Sann. Initially, the armed forces of the front totalled fewer than 3,000 men.

#### Tightening the Organization and Building a Political Position

After continuous pressure was applied on many fronts by various groups in order to help achieve results in the international political struggle and with the help of various countries, the formation of the "Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea" was announced in Kuala Lumpur on 22 June 1982, or almost 4 years later.

This was the first time that people on the outside heard of Colonel Im Chudeth in his capacity as one of the defense ministers in the government.

However, the struggle within the organization of the KPNLF was no different from that in other organizations since the backgrounds of the SEREIKA and of the others groups were so different. Also, the troops lacked discipline, and there was a continual struggle between the groups over profits.

The clearest conflict concerned the death of Oluat at Ban Nong Samet (south of Ta Phraya District) at the end of 1982. Concerning this, Major General Dien Del, the leader of a group at Ampil (north of Ta Phraya District), was involved and had to take responsibility. Afterwards, the administrative committee of the KPNLF issued a resolution sending Major General Dien Del to Paris. General Sak Sutsakhan, arriving from Paris, replaced him as deputy head of the KPNLF.

It is said that Major General Dien Del was the leader of a group that once had the greatest power and that forcing him to give up his position of leadership at Ampil was recommended by Im Chudeth's group, a recommendation that Son Sann could not ignore.

However, Prime Minister Son Sann once gave great support to Major General Dien Del. This was the case ever since he held power in Phnom Penh, treating him like his own son. And because of the need for men in the struggle to drive out the invaders, a compromise was reached by Mr Son Sann. And so Major General Dien Del returned to his base at Ampil last July.

During the past 2-3 years, Ampil has become the largest base of the non-communist Khmers. It has a school and hospital and political and military institutions. It resembles Phum Thumei, which is considered to be the capital of the coalition government. It is located in the outlying area of Phnom Malai to the south of Aranyaprathet District, which is Khmer Rouge territory.

However, after the Vietnamese simultaneously attacked the Khmer Rouge bases at Phnom Chat, Chum Kakor and Prey Mon and the Sihanoukborei base of Prince Sihanouk at the beginning of April 1983, the huge Vietnamese

forces turned and set out to destroy the Prey Chan and Rithisen bases at Nong Samet, including the Ampil base.

And most recently, that is, at the end of September, Vietnam pounded the area surrounding Ampil with artillery. It is feared that Ampil will be the next target of the Vietnamese during the coming dry season, which is just a few months away. Thus, Ampil is not a base that can rest at ease.

#### Im Chudeth On the Path of Political and Military Struggle

It is said that the anti-Khmer Rouge forces of Colonel Im Chudeth began carrying on operations in the northwestern region of Kampuchea in Siem Reap Province and in Udornmichai at the end of 1975. When they began, they had only 100 armed men. Obviously, it was a war of guerrillas against guerrillas.

In this respect, Colonel Im Chudeth has the advantage over the military leaders of other groups because of his great experience. This may well lead to developments on the strategic front and to changes in the tactics used.

Thus, it comes as no surprise that there have been reports that the sphere of operations of the SEREIKA, or KPNLF, has expanded into the northern and northwestern provinces of the country and around the Tonle Sap.

During the period from May to August, Vietnam carried out a major purge of officials of the Heng Samrin regime. This purge affected officials at all levels--from provincial to village officials. And there was a purge within the military forces of Heng Samrin.

Among the high-ranking officials of Heng Samrin purged by Vietnam was Mr Chan Seng, the governor of Siem Reap Province (the KPNLF has confirmed that he was arrested on 25 May 1983). About 10,000 Kampucheans fled and joined the KPNLF at Nong Samet and Ampil.

It cannot be denied that this is the result of the political work of Colonel Im Chudeth, who has been active for many years now.

"We have to recognize that we cannot drive the Vietnamese out of Kampuchea using military force," said Colonel Im Chudeth, one of the members on the Defense Committee of the coalition government, to this writer during our short meeting at a location along the border near Buriram Province 2 months ago.

"Liberating the country will be a long-term task. I cannot predict when victory will be achieved. What is important is that this [struggle] must be waged by the broad masses," said Colonel Im Chudeth seriously.

"Vietnam is in the process of swallowing Kampuchea. They have moved many of their people here to mix with our people. At present, there are very few Kampucheans left. This disaster may not be visible this year or next year. But as for 20 years from now, this is a very terrifying matter. The Kampuchean people must quickly perceive this danger."

However, it is still not clear who this man is. It is said that at present, he is the real military powerholder in the Khmer Seri and that he is now the hope of many factions that have a stake in the Kampuchean problem.

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## SOCIALISM STILL A FORCE IN STUDENT MOVEMENT

Bangkok THE NATION REVIEW in English 15 Oct 83 p 14

[Text]

**N**EVER before in the Thai history was the student movement so powerful as it was after the October 14 Uprising. Even before that historical event, the student movement had played a significant role in shaping up the political developments which led finally to an end of the repressive Thanom-Prapass regime.

Even when the country was subject to a despotic rule and people were too intimidated to speak out, it was the students who defied the regime.

The student movement had developed from what were merely fragmented groups of students whose prime interest had always been social activities. The period between 1957 and 1972 was a time when the students kept a low profile as a pressure group.

Sombat Thamrongthanyawongse, a former secretary general of the defunct National Students Centre of Thailand (NSCT) recalled that serious attempts by some student activists to get together all the progressive elements in the universities began in 1972. "They started off in the form of social gatherings with hidden political implication," he said.

Sombat, who was then vice president of Kasetsart Students Union, said the student activists began asking questions during their meetings on what kind of services they could render to the society. And since politics was a very sensitive matter at the time, the student activists tried to avoid mentioning it

as far as their activities were concerned. From social gatherings, the student groups slowly developed into a more unified body which pooled together all different lines of thinking from different universities. And that was when the NSCT was formed.

Thirayuth Boonmee, who was to become the country's most prominent student leader, was elected the first secretary general. And from that point on, the student movement began to make its presence felt.

From the campaign against Japanese goods, the NSCT moved to take on issues with more political essence. The students succeeded in thwarting an attempt by the Thanom Government to interfere with the judicial affairs by organizing mass demonstrations.

Then came the infamous "Tung Yai" case which was followed by the expulsions of student activists from Ramkhamhaeng University by its controversial rector Dr Sakdi Phasukniran. Many of the student leaders who were to have strong influence on the student movement in the years to come also slowly emerged during that period of growing discontent toward the government.

The popular cry for a constitution which ended with the mass arrest of 13 student and political activists on October 6, 1973 marked the beginning of the end of the family dictatorship of Thanom and Prapass regime.

The incident triggered off a series of mass demonstrations

which culminated in the October 14 Uprising which ushered in an unprecedented era of democracy.

But the euphoria was short-lived. Fuelled by waves of popularity it was riding, the student movement misjudged its own roles and importance. "For a time it looked like the students were running the country," said Sombat.

The students were also quick to alienate themselves from other sectors of the society. "You had to be progressive or leftists if you wanted to join the activities of the student movement then," he said.

The influence of Marxism also gained its foothold among the student activists who at one point entertained a belief that a people's revolution would soon be on its way in Thailand. The authorities and the more conservative quarters of the country became suspicious of the student movement.

Then the October 6 massacre came. It shocked the whole country and drove thousands of students into the arms of the Communist Party of Thailand (CPT). In that atmosphere of repression, the students had no second thought about their faith in communism and since the CPT was able to offer them with a "ready-made formula" in which they only needed to have faith to join the outlawed communist movement.

The cream of the student activists declared their alliance to the CPT — perhaps they had no other choice. The success of the Chinese Revolution and the communist triumph in Indochina were to them an unquestioned inspiration.

But again, the faith they had in the CPT, which was the only viable force to struggle against the central government, quickly evaporated with the upheavals in Indochina. The ideological conflicts within the rank-and-file and even with the leadership of the CPT started the march out of the jungle by the former student activists.

"Between 1976 and 1977, the CPT seemed to be the only alternative for the students," said Weng Tochirakarn, a former medical student who joined the CPT.

But like most of the students, Weng found himself escaping from one kind of dictatorship to another.

"Only after we went into the jungle did we find out that the CPT was a dictatorship by party," he said. "The students would not get along ideologically with the party leadership and had to subsequently leave the jungle."

The rejection of the CPT — and to a certain extent the orthodox Marxism by the students — has become to be known as "faith crisis" which still continues to haunt the student movement of the modern days.

"Their hearts were simply broken," Weng said.

For Weng, if there was to be a lesson to be drawn from his six years with the CPT in the jungle, he would put it this way: "Our lesson is that the CPT is a dictatorship of the left. And my conclusion is that the CPT is not the answer for the Thai society."

Weng, now a doctor at Rajvithi Hospital, said student activists of today must be more mature and be critical of all theses they are interested in. "They must be more careful before accepting anything," he said.

Anuj Arbhahirama, another former prominent student activist, said the student movement of October 14 had already come to its end. The student movement today should look for its own identity and adopt new directions based on the lessons it has learnt from the past.

### Soul searching

With the October 14 Uprising and the October 6 Bloodbath now a history, the student movement of the 1980's is going through what is described as the "second soul searching" period. The "faith crisis" created by the self-destruction of the CPT has left the students with nothing to fall back on.

The impact of the "faith crisis" could probably be felt most strongly at Thammasat University which has a historical role of being a hotbed for student dissidents. Student activists who are still politically alert are beginning to conduct critical studies of communism, socialism and other related lines of thinking. Their aim is to arrive at more positive and practical solutions to the



problems facing the country as well as the student movement.

"We don't know where the answers are. We don't even know where we are now. Most of these student activists tend to stay away from the rest of the students," said a member of the Saengtham Party, the student group which is running the Thammasat Students Union.

"The atmosphere on campus is rather quiet as students don't engage in ideological discussions any more," he said.

Since almost all of the student activists who had been through the tumultuous years between 1976 and 1979 are not around the new generations of student activists have found themselves in the dark when it comes to the question of political activities.

"At Chulalongkorn University, many of the former student activists who have remained have even refused to get themselves involved in campus activities," another student leader said. A similar kind of "dull atmosphere" also prevails at Mahidol University which used to produce the cream of the corps of student activists.

Vorapot Osathapirat, president of Thammasat Students Union, said there is presently a big gap between the two generations of student activists. "The most important problem is that former student activists have failed to relate their experiences to the new ones. The new generation of student activists almost have to start from the square one," he said.

For many reasons, the scope of student activities today is quite limited compared to the post-October 14 period when student activists swarmed the rural areas to work alongside the farmers or mingle with factory workers and progressive politicians. Apart from some social activities, students today have yet to find a proper role for themselves.

Weng Tochirakarn, a former student leader who later joined the CPT, said there were many factors which helped refine the old student movement into a genuine guiding light for the masses. There were common desires among the people in general for democracy, economic independence and political freedom

as well as popular opposition to foreign cultures dominating the country at the time.

The student movement for that reason could drum up support or sympathy from the masses over these issues which were already the sources of their discontent.

What frustrated student leaders of today most is the fact that the new generation of student activists mostly lack both ideological and political backgrounds. "They simply have no political mind before joining the student movement," said a student leader of Thammasat University. The situation at most other universities is not very different.

"One of our assumptions is that the influence of the western culture today is very strong. Our students today seem to be quite naive in both their attitude and life style," he said.

Students with more progressive minds at Mahidol University are trying to keep themselves active by applying things they have learnt in the classrooms to their activities with the hope that they would learn about the society in a more realistic way.

"But the question is how practical the 'back-to-classroom movement' is and whether it will have any impact on social conditions at all," one of the students said.

At Chulalongkorn University, political activities of the students are almost dead. The Chulalongkorn Students Union has failed to engineer any activities which would regain faith and instil political and social awareness among the students.

"It is even more difficult today to persuade progressive students who bury themselves in piles of books on political theses or are preoccupied with their soul-searching to join in our activities," a student activist of the student union said.

#### **Ramkhamhaeng: An exception**

The "faith crisis" so far has proved to have very little effect on the student activists at Ramkhamhaeng University — the country's largest open university.

Thepthai Senapongse, president of the Ramkhamhaeng Students Union said the student activities here are more politicized than those at other universities.

"It has always been a struggle for power between the progressive sector of the students and the interference from outside through some student groups," he said, referring to the fight for the control of the students union.

Under such circumstances, the competing student groups must always initiate new activities to attract attention and support from the students. Since students of Ramkhamhaeng University have always served as the vanguard for the student movement in the past, there have been attempts by certain political groups outside to gain control of the student leadership of the university. These groups are sometimes identified with some rightwing movements.

Thepthai said that the Seven Faculties Party which is now in control of the Ramkhamhaeng Students Union still consider political activities to be of prime importance and it seems to be successful to a certain extent in recruiting support.

"The students have different social and class backgrounds from those of students of other universities," he said. "Ramkhamhaeng students are mostly from middle and lower class families and, therefore, the ways they look at society are different."

Commenting on the state of the student movement today, Thepthai said it must first define the roles it wants to play. "There were times when students tended to take on every issue without doing appropriate homework," he said. "That is one of the reasons why it was not well accepted by the public."

#### Academic interests

The tendency today is for many of the student activists to pay more attention to academic interests rather than getting involved in purely political matters. "Our experience in the past has shown that most of the student activists had very little academic knowledge because they preoccupied themselves with political activities," said Vorapot.

The observation is particularly true for the student activists in the post-October 14 period. "They simply turned away from all academic studies and jumped with both feet into political activities," he said. And the result was that they have difficulties in adapting themselves to the society now. "Some of them even warned us that we would not be able to find jobs if we ignore the classrooms," he said.

The broad picture of the student movement today is that student activists tend to be more academic with lesser interests in political activities. "We have sort of diluted the political essence from our activities and resort to things which find more responsive chords among the majority of the students," Vorapot said.

What he means is that more social, cultural and academic activities have become more common today at most campuses.

#### Socialism still alive

Despite the persistent "faith crisis," socialism still serves as the basis for political study of certain sectors of student activists. But they study socialism in a more critical way.

"We are not only trying to find out what Marx or Lenin had said or done, but we are also studying the mistakes they made and failures of socialism," one student leader said.

Pornchai Kumtavee, a student of Thammasat University, defined the student activists into two major groups — those who are interested in short-term activities by joining student clubs and unions and those who have turned into academics.

Pornchai said none of the student activists can yet conclude what the real state the Thai society is despite years of research and study. And the search for an answer is expected to go on for sometime.

#### Buddhism and Tao

When they failed to find an answer in socialism, many weary students have turned to Buddhism and Taoism as a way out.

A student leader at Thammasat University said that although the new trend is limited to a small cir-

cle of students it may well reflect certain changes in the attitude of these people.

"The students may have lost hope on everything else and now would not trust anything except themselves," he said. The main essence of Buddhism and Taosim is the discovery of inner-self, he said.

Anuj Arbhabhira said the students' interest in religions may reflect their disregard of socialism. "We may as well describe it as an indication of the decline of the left. But the picture is not yet very clear," he said.

### Soul searching to continue?

What the student movement today needs now is a direction which will lead to a new identity for itself. It also needs a vision which its predecessor might have lacked to guide itself along the right path.

But for the time being, the soul searching is something it should quickly do away with because it is not likely to lead to any ready-made answer which the student movement thinks it needs.

As in the words of a student activist: "Can we just stop that soul searching and start doing something now?"

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## SPECIAL WARFARE COMMANDER PROFILED

Bangkok THE NATION REVIEW in English 22 Oct 83 p 9

[Article: "A Capable Man for a 'Special' Job"]

[Text]

**L**T GEN ANEK Bunyathi is the only military officer who has served the longest tenure in the Special Warfare Centre. He has been involved in the activities of the centre for the last three decades and no doubt he is widely accepted as the most experienced and capable man in the field of warfare.

Lt Gen Anek, 59, will have only one more year to go in the military service but the army has just named him as commander of the newly-established Special Warfare Command — an "upgrade" from the former status of a centre with, of course, wider responsibilities.

The senior military officer is a graduate from Class 4 of the pre-military cadet school and he served his first ten years of service after his graduation in 1945 in several military commands in the central region. He was appointed a member of the paratroop unit when it was set up in 1954 and, slowly but firmly, he climbed from the rank of captain to lieutenant general.

His subordinates at the Special Warfare Command describe him as a highly-capable man who keeps on improving operations in the command since it was established. Lt Gen Anek said he personally felt proud of the expansion of the command which started as a small unit then to a centre and now a command. And he is definitely delighted that he is appointed head of the command since special warfare is

the field that he is most familiar with for more than half of his military life.

He was officially appointed special warfare commander last month and some observers described the new unit as one of the powerful agencies in the army since "it controls two divisions of special warfare personnel."

The first head of the special warfare centre, when it was upgraded from a special war unit in 1966, was the then Col Thienchai Sirisamphan (now general and assistant army commander-in-chief). Lt Gen Anek later took over as the second chief.

When Thailand joined in the war in South Korea against North Korea, Lt Gen Anek was one of the military officers who was sent there but, according to him, there was nothing very impressive about his service there because the war was nearly over when he arrived in South Korea where he stayed for about a year.

Lt Gen Anek is concurrently president of the aviation association which was formed some ten years ago with the objective of giving training on parachuting to people.

He also introduced the use of balloons instead of aircraft for parachute training — a method which saves the army's budget by millions of baht.

Lt Gen Anek said he had in fact proposed the army to use balloons for parachute training more than

ten years ago but it was not implemented right after his recommendation because of the problem of energy shortage. His proposal brought about the attention of his superiors only two years ago when the army approved a budget of 25 million baht for the project which needs two huge balloons, each costs 2.5 million baht, storing rooms for the balloons and other equipment.

Trainees have jumped from the balloons more than 17,000 times since they are in operations and the expenses, mostly for gas for the balloons, are only about two million baht so far, he said with a sense of pride.

Thailand is the only country in Asia which has resorted to balloons for parachute training. Britain and Belgium are two countries which use the same budget-saving method.

It might not have been registered in the Guinness Book of world records, Lt Gen has prided himself on the success when he jumped 20 times from a balloon in three hours on Sept 23 this year.

"This is the best statistics in the world and no one has ever done it -- 23 times of parachute jumping in three hours," he said.

Lt Gen Anek is approaching his retirement but most of the subordinates agree that he remains energetic and continues to prove ready to take initiatives.

One of his pastimes when he was chief of the Special Warfare Centre in Lopburi was the development of a zoo for people in the province.

He started from scratch and the zoo is now a famous recreation centre for Lopburi people.

Lt Gen Anek realizes that he cannot do much for the Special Warfare Command during his one year left in the military service but he has vowed to do his best for the sake of the new command. He knows his assignment is a vital move and he has to prove it.

## SPECIAL WARFARE COMMAND FOCUSES ON TACTICS

Bangkok THE NATION REVIEW in English 22 Oct 83 p 10

[Text]

**T**HE special warfare forces whose origin can be traced back to more than 20 years ago have now become a full-fledged and formidable unit with the official creation of the Second Special Warfare Division and the Special Warfare Command early this month. The ranger force at the Pakthongchai Garrison which was just recently transferred to the jurisdiction of the special command also added to the strength of the dubbed "Fifth Army Region".

The command has been compared to a regional army as it now controls two divisions of special warfare forces, the first and the second.

The Special Warfare Centre which is responsible for the theoretical and practical aspects of guerrilla warfare has also come under the newly-formed command.

Naturally, doubts have cropped up as to whether the apparent huge command is as formidable as it appears. In other words, there have been doubts whether the two divisions comprise only skeleton forces or not, given the facts that the first division was just formed last year while the other early this month.

Sources in the command, however, dismissed the doubts, saying that the Army had earlier well prepared for the staffing of the two divisions by first moving the troops from the Special Warfare Centre to the two divisions and therefore, when the orders to set up the two divisions came, adequate troops have already been there.

The Thai special warfare forces originated from a paratroop unit, formed in 1954. Two years later, the unit was upgraded as a special force and in 1964. Two years later, the unit was upgraded as a special force and in 1964, it was made a special division which came under the Special Warfare Centre two years afterward.

A major overhaul came last September when the second division and the command were formerly set up on grounds that, in the words of former Commander of the Special Warfare Centre Lt Gen Anek Boonyathee, "the situation has necessitated the expansion of the special warfare force so that we would have a viable force to wage unconventional warfare for defence purposes."

He said that for such a poor country as Thailand, a special force well versed in waging unconventional warfare is a must because, to build such a force, it requires less budget than setting up a comparable regular force.

Such a special force also has a higher degree of flexibility as an operation carried out by the troops in the force requires fewer soldiers and therefore it would be very useful in supporting regular forces in case of a foreign invasion, he added.

The rationale behind the development of the Special Warfare force undeniably evolved from the bitter experience of the allied forces in the Vietnam War. The US forces then sustained heavy casualties because of the harassment by resis-

tance guerrillas who penetrated into the rear lines of the US force and inflicted many casualties in them.

Having drawn the lessons from the Indochina War, the Thai special forces have been trained to operate in small groups comprising about 12 troopers each. Their mission to infiltrate behind enemy lines and harass them while regular forces are advancing to crush the enemies, according to Lt Gen Boonyathee.

He added that the ongoing fighting in Kampuchea also testified to the merits of such a special force.

Informed sources also said that the Army had already farmed out responsibility for the two special warfare divisions. The First Division is assigned to operate along eastern and northern border areas adjacent to Burma, Laos and Kampuchea while the border areas to the West and South is placed under the jurisdiction of the other division.

Lt Gen Anek said that before the division of responsibility, the Army had collected information about the geographical terrains along the border, particularly spots where foreign enemies could invade, and had also sent in special force troops into the areas to familiarize themselves with the geographical aspects of each border area.

"So, our special troops are ready to operate along the border areas in case of emergency," he said.

The ranger force based in Nakhon Ratchasima has also been proven efficient. The rangers have been detailed to fight against communist insurgents in various areas throughout the country and to attack Shan rebels under drug kingpin Khun Sa in the North.

Military sources in Lopburi also said that the Army did not overlooked the importance of political campaigns to win the heart of the masses which are vital in a guerrilla warfare.

"We have already organized hundreds of thousands of people throughout the country over the past many years of hard work to provide a political foundation for the operations of the Special Warfare forces," one of them said.

## TECHNOLOGY FAIR FEATURES THAI PRODUCTS

Bangkok THE NATION REVIEW in English 19 Oct 83 p 17

[Text]

THE upcoming Electron '83 exhibition will not only feature advanced electronics technology but also display new ideas and inventions by Thai engineers in this field, said Mr Charnchai Svangsopakul, managing director of Thailand Exhibitions and Management Co, Ltd (TEM).

In cooperation with the Electronics

Association of Thailand, TEM is jointly organizing the exhibition scheduled to be held at Amphorn Gardens, Bangkok on October 26-30. The opening ceremony on October 26, will be presided over by Minister of Communications, Samak Sundaravej.

The exhibition is the third of its kind to be arranged by the organizers. Products on display from over 60 local and overseas companies, will include a wide range of the latest electrical and electronic products, equipment and accessories such as automatic voltage stabilizer; digital multi-metre and process instruments; electrical and electronic cleaning solutions; digital

platform scales; fully electronic truck scales and air ionizers.

Also on display are various electronic inventions developed by Thai engineering institutes. These include: remote control device for machinery and a micro-computer relaying information through radio-wave, developed by the King Mongkut's Institute of Technology, North Bangkok Campus. The Faculty of Engineering of the Kasetsart University, will display their own micro computer while the King Mongkut's Institute of Technology, Chaokhunta-harn Ladkrabang Campus will be exhibiting electronic devices developed by the engineers and students of the Institute.

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## KRA CANAL POSSIBILITIES TO BE DISCUSSED

Bangkok THE NATION REVIEW in English 26 Oct 83 p 17

[Text]

**EXCAVATION** of Kra Canal in the southern part of Thailand, possibly with the use of nuclear energy to open a new international shipping lane, will be highlighted during a seminar on Long-Term Economic Development of the Pacific and Indian Ocean Basins at Kitt Hall, Dusit Thani Hotel, tomorrow.

The seminar is sponsored by the Communications Ministry, Fusion Energy Foundation of New York and Executive Intelligence Review of New York. It will be attended by more than 200 representatives from the government and the Armed Forces.

Dr Svasti Srisukh, former secretary general of the Atomic Energy for Peace and a panelist at the seminar, told *The Nation* that there will be discussions on the Kra Canal and the future of Thailand and the use of nuclear energy to excavate the canal if this multi-million baht project finally gets the greenlight from the government.

Dr Svasti said he had prepared a report on excavation of Kra Canal, submitted to a convention in Vienna several years ago, with the use of nuclear energy which at the time envisaged a total saving of 2,000 million baht for the country while the period of excavation will be two years less.

Communications Minister Samak Sundaravej will deliver the opening address to be followed by a presentation on The Global Economy and the US Role in the Development of the Pacific and Indian Ocean Basins by Mr Lyndon H. Larouche, chairman of Executive Intelligence Review.

Dr Uwe Henke v. Parpart, director of research of the Fusion Energy Foundation will then make a presentation on the Kra Canal and the Future of Thailand.

There will be a panel discussion on the Kra Canal by Dr Chitti Wacharasindhu, deputy permanent secretary, Dr Svasti and Dr Henke.

Dr Henke has prepared a number of articles supporting excavation of the Kra Canal citing the need for a new international shipping lane in Southeast Asia when the Straits of Malacca is not able to cope with sea traffic in the future.

Mr Larouche said in an article published by Executive Intelligence Review (EIR) that the single, most-crucial point of strategic weakness in sea traffic in the Asian region is the constricted passage past Singapore through the Straits of Malacca. He pointed out that the obvious remedy for this is the development of a large, high-speed, sea-level canal through the Isthmus of Kra.

Dr Henke pointed out in EIR that the Kra Canal would serve as "Asiaport" and industrial zones which can rival Singapore and Hong Kong.

Dr Henke will present the following options for panel discussion:

The construction of major deep sea port facilities and associated industrial development zones at either end of the Kra Canal is both feasible and highly desirable. However, phased port and industrial development, concentrating initially on the eastern canal outlet, appears to be the best strategy at this point.

This involves, in particular, a most interesting concept first proposed in the early 1970s by Mr K.Y. Chow. Since most Southeast and East Asian ports with the exception of Hong Kong and Singapore are, at present, ill-equipped to handle large cargo vessels and could only be enlarged at very high cost, a port facility at Songkhla could rapidly develop into a major transshipment centre for the entire region, capturing a very substantial portion of transshipment now handled by Hong Kong and Singapore.

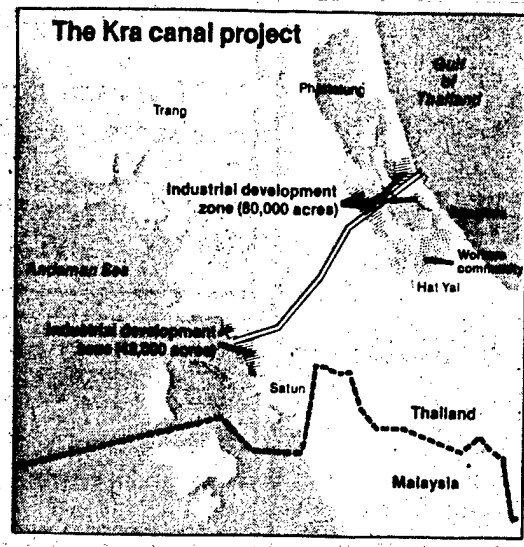
This development, however, would only be Phase I and should rapidly be followed up by construction of a comparable facility at the western canal outlet. Even in the initial planning stage, both ports must also be laid out to handle not only transshipments, but also the substantially greater berthing requirements that will arise out of area industrial development. The pattern of such industrial development requires intensive detailed study to be coordinated with existing Thai government plans for eastern seaboard development and construction of a deep sea port at Sattahip.

One possible outline pattern of industrial development for the Kra Canal Complex would look as follows:

- Initial development of industries and servicing facilities supportive of the canal and transshipment port projects. This would from the outset have to involve dry-dock and ship-building facilities, building a modern fleet of rapid feeder vessels as specified above. Phase I development must also take into account the immediate as well as long-term power requirements of the Canal Complex. If nuclear excavation is used, then the right kind of expertise would already be assembled in the region to consider construction of one or several nuclear power plants. Ideas going back to the mid-1960s for nuclear-industrial complexes should be reviewed in this context.

- Phase 2 should envisage the development of large and basic heavy industries developed both as an offshoot of the canal construction itself and as back-up for the proposed ship-building project — iron and steel as well as basic capital-goods industries as indicated.

- In an environment already shaped by nuclear excavation and power plant development, having assembled the required advanced engineering and scientific manpower, the exciting possibility arises of developing a modern nuclear-based high-technology complex. Lawrence Livermore Laboratory experts have suggested that the world's first nuclear isotope separation plant of a significant scale might become associated with the Kra Canal Complex. Recent developments in laser technology would in that same context point to the possibility of developing new high-energy laser-based industries.



## COST OF KRA CANAL DISCUSSED

Bangkok BANGKOK POST in English 28 Oct 83 p 3

[Text]

CONSTRUCTION of a two-lane Kra Canal would require a mammoth capital investment ranging from US\$6.2 billion by nuclear excavation to \$11.1 billion by conventional means, participants in a seminar on the proposed canal were told yesterday.

Dr Uwe Henke V. Parpart, Director of Research with the Fusion Energy Foundation in New York, said that it would take about six years to dredge the canal by nuclear excavation, whereas conventional excavation would take twice as long.

He said two-lane traffic in the canal would be more favourable than the one-lane system as proposed in a study conducted by Tippetts-Abbett-McCarthy-Stratton (TAMS).

Dr Parpart said the one-lane system was based on the "untenable premise that for a long time to come the export potential of the East and Southeast Asian nations will be small" compared to Western nations.

Stressing the importance of building the canal, Dr Parpart said trade in the Pacific and Indian Oceans was increasingly expanding.

Quoting statistics on the growth rate of imports and exports among countries, he said that during 1960-1980, the growth rate of Asian countries was 9.1 per cent while that of the US and European countries was only 5.6 per cent.

"I believe that this trend will continue," he said. "The main question is how can we facilitate this kind of

trend?"

He noted that, at present, the Malacca Straits are used by more than 40,000 ships a year and further significant increases in traffic are inevitable. In the near future, he warned, the Straits would no longer be able to sustain the increasing number of ships.

Dr Parpart said the actual savings in distance effected by Kra Canal — about 900 nautical miles — would not by itself justify the large expenditures on excavation and operating costs.

He said two other principal factors defining the overall importance and viability of the project were: the already mentioned growing inadequacy of the Straits of Malacca; and the industrial development potential based on construction of deep sea ports at one or both ends of the canal.

Security-wise, the canal would bolster international security and economic prosperity, he said.

Another panellist, Dr Svasti Srisukh, former secretary-general of the Atomic Energy for Peace Office, said several experts believed that radioactivity and vibration from nuclear excavation would not be harmful to people living near and around the area.

It has been estimated that more than 200,000 people will be moved elsewhere when the excavation begins.

Communications Minister Samak Sundaravej, officiating at the seminar, said if the Kra Canal project was economically and politically feasible, it should be implemented.

## BRIEFS

TIN DEPOSITS FOUND--ADDITIONAL tin ore deposits of more than 80 million tons worth about 13,400 million baht were found during recent explorations in various parts of the country, the Department of Mineral Resources reported yesterday. The surveys, conducted from October last year until September this year, reported discoveries at Baan Na Sai in Amphoe Li, Lamphun province of an estimated 26 million tons of lignite, and at Baan Sakae Ngarm in Amphoe Nongya-plong, Petchburi province of an estimated 1.4 million tons of tin, of a slightly better quality than lignite. In Amphoe Wiangngae, Chiang Mai, 54 tons of tin and lignite were found in a recent survey, with a thickness ranging from 2.10 metres to 11.56 metres. In Amphoe Naduang, Loei province, an additional survey found a deposit of high-quality tin of up to 500,000 tons. Thailand has so far found 50 tin reserves for a total estimated reserve of at least 2,000 million tons, of which 13.1 million tons have been commercially exploited from seven sites in Lampang, Lamphun, Tak, Loei and Krabi. About 75 per cent of the mineral has been used for generating electricity. The Cabinet has ruled that high-quality tin should be used for fuel in the cement industry and tobacco curing, and low-quality tin should be used in electricity generation. [Text] [Bangkok THE NATION REVIEW in English 21 Oct 83 p 17]

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